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THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

1493-1898

Magalhães's ship "Victoria;" from cut in Henry Stevens's Johann Schöner (London, 1888)

(Probably the ideal conception of some early artist, and perhaps of the type of the "Victoria." Its source is not mentioned in the above book. A cut in part 6 of Hulsius, Nuremberg, 1603, shows the same ship, but the two cuts are not otherwise identical.)

[*From copy in the Lenox Library, New York City*]

The PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 1493-1898

Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the close of the Nineteenth Century

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS

Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE. With maps, portraits and other illustrations

Volume XXXIII—1519-1522

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BODLEIAN COLLEGE

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(Probably the ideal conception of some early artist, and perhaps of the type of the "Victoria." Its source is not mentioned in the above book.) . . *Frontispiece*

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PREFACE

In this and the succeeding volume, we present various documents (notably the *Relation* of Antonio Pigafetta) which could not be obtained in season for publication in regular chronological order, and which it has seemed advisable to insert as addenda at this point.

With the present volume is begun the publication of Antonio Pigafetta's relation of the first circumnavigation of the world – the greatest single achievement in all the history of sea exploration and discovery. Written by a participant of the expedition, Pigafetta's relation has a greater value than any other narrative of the voyage. Its great value and the fact that it has never been adequately presented to the English-speaking public have induced the editors to insert this relation in the present series both in the original Italian (rigidly adhering to and preserving all the peculiarities of the original manuscript) and in English translation. This relation is especially valuable for its descriptions of the various peoples, countries, and products, of Oriental seas, and for its vocabularies, as well as for its account of the first circumnavigation. From its very nature, the relation has called for an unusual amount of

annotation, which has been drawn freely from various sources: chiefly Mosto's annotations in his publication of Pigafetta's relation in Part V, volume iii, of the *Raccolta di documenti e studi*, published by the Royal Columbian Commission of the fourth centenary of the discovery of America under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction (Roma, 1894); Navarrete's *Col. de viages*, iv (Madrid, 1837); various publications of the Hakluyt Society; and F. H. H. Guillemard's *Life of Ferdinand Magellan* (New York, 1891). The publication of the original Italian and the English, page for page, renders it necessary to place the annotations at the end of the volume instead of in footnote as hitherto. The various charts of the Italian manuscript are all presented in facsimile in the course of the work. In order that the various peculiarities of the manuscript might be preserved, it has been necessary to specially design and cast certain characters that appear in Pigafetta's narrative. None of these characters have been reproduced by Mosto, who also writes out all abbreviations. Throughout we have aimed to present the document as it exists in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (even to the spacing of words) with the exception that paragraphs in the manuscript begin with a hanging indention and usually end with a series of dots and dashes. A brief synopsis of the relation follows.

After a brief dedication to the grand master of the Hospitaler knights of Rhodes or Malta, as they were called later, and of which order he is a member, Pigafetta relates that, being at Barcelona in 1519 with the papal legate, he first hears of the expedition about to set out under Magalhães. Being

desirous of seeing the world, he gains permission to accompany the expedition, and soon joins the fleet at Seville, whence it is to depart. Magalhães, as a wise commander, issues his instructions to the various commanders of the vessels ere port is left, so that they may keep together in the unknown seas before them, and that they may act in harmony.

Setting sail from Seville on August 10, 1519, the fleet of five small vessels starts on its long journey amid salvos of artillery. At the mouth of the Guadalquivir, San Lucar de Barrameda, they anchor until September 20, when setting sail once more, they make for the Canaries, which are reached September 26. There they reprovision and taking their departure on October 3, coast southward along Africa amid alternating calms and violent storms (cheered however by the welcome apparition of St. Elmo's fire, which promises them safety), until they cross the line. Thereupon taking a general westerly course, the cape of St. Augustine on the Brazilian coast is soon sighted. The fresh provisions, so essential to sea voyages, are procured on the coast of Brazil, where occurs the first communication with the natives, with whom wonderful bargains are made. Those Indians, cannibals though they be, and whom Pigafetta describes briefly (not failing to inscribe some of their language) receive the mariners hospitably, and thinking that the latter are come to remain among them, build them a house. But after a stay of eighteen days, the sails are again trimmed toward the south, and descending the coast, Magalhães anchors next at the Rio de la Plata which had formerly proved so disastrous to Juan de Solis and his men. Unable here to hold converse with the

anthropophagous natives, who flee at their approach, the fleet retakes its course, anchoring at two islands where many sea-wolves and penguins are taken, and thus fresh food obtained. The next anchorage is at the famous Bay of St. Julian along the desolate Patagonian coast, where for five months they winter. For two months not an individual is seen, but one day they gain their first sight of the Patagonians, whose huge bulk strikes all with surprise, and who are held as giants. Amicable relations are entered into with various of these wandering Indians, and finally Magalhães, with the taste for the wonderful that characterized his period, as strongly, or more strongly than our own, determines to capture two of them to take back to Spain as novelties. His ruse is successful, but an attempt to induce the wife of one of the Indians to go to the ship fails. Very interesting are these giants to the curious Pigafetta, and to him is due the earliest description of their manners and customs and the earliest specimens of their language. The two captured giants are placed in separate vessels, but unfortunately both die ere reaching the end of the journey, one in the deserting ship "San Antonio," and the other in Magalhães's own ship, the "Trinidad."

During the five months at that port "many things happened there." Shortly after entering the port, the most critical moment of all Magalhães's life comes, and one which he has perhaps, dreaded from the beginning of the expedition. This is the mutiny headed by Juan de Cartagena, captain of one of the vessels, and other malcontents, who hate Magalhães because he is a Portuguese. The latter, however, proves equal to the emergency, and by his prompt

action and the punishments tempered by mercy that he inflicts, quiets the trouble. João Serrão, captain of the "Santiago" is sent to explore the coast, but is shipwrecked, although all the crew are saved. Their rescue (not well told by Pigafetta) is a thrilling and arduous matter, and calls into play the endurance of men already tried by misfortune and buffetings with Nature.

With the fleet reduced to four vessels, the mariners leave port St. Julian and proceeding along the coast, anchor at the river of Sardines, where stormy weather threatens a disastrous end to the expedition. A stay of two months is made, during which the ships are enabled to lay in a good supply of provisions, wood, and water. Before leaving that river, the crews (for Magalhães looks after the spiritual welfare of his men) confess and take communion. Then resuming the voyage, the great object of the first half of the expedition is attained, namely, the discovery of the strait, which occurs October 21, 1520. "That strait is one hundred and ten leguas . . . long, and it is one-half legua broad, more or less." Its discovery is due to the indomitable energy and endurance of Magalhães, and his certain knowledge (probably overstated by Pigafetta) of its existence. Continuing, Pigafetta briefly narrates the passage through the strait, and the desertion of the "San Antonio," which returns to Spain, after putting the captain, Alvaro de Mesquita, a relative of Magalhães, in irons; for the pilot, a Portuguese named Esteban Gomez, is jealous of Magalhães, as the latter's expedition has destroyed ambitious plans of his own. The other three ships, leaving letters and signals in the strait, in case the "San Antonio"

tries to regain them, proceeds on its way, debouching from the strait November 28. Then begins a long voyage over the trackless Pacific "in truth . . . very pacific;" and the three ships sail on steadily for three and two-thirds months without being able to reprovision. To the horrors of famine are added the sufferings of the dread scurvy. Pigafetta, whose curiosity is always alert and active, and who remains well, diverts himself with talking to the Patagonian, who is finally baptized, but who is one of those to die. In the vast stretch from the strait to the Ladrones (first seen by them of all Europeans), only two islands, both desert, are sighted, and those, since they are unable to find anchorage there, are called the "Unfortunate Isles." Pigafetta mentions the southern constellation *Crux* and the star clouds since called after Magalhães. His geographical information, as one might expect, is not always accurate, for he places Cipangu (Japan) in the open Pacific. Thoughts of relief that come upon sighting various islands (which they called the Ladrones because of the thievishness of the inhabitants) are quickly dissipated by the hostility there encountered. So bold are these natives (whose appearance, life, and customs, Pigafetta describes briefly), that they even steal the ship's boat from the stern of the "Trinidad," thus necessitating a raid into one of the islands, where some of the natives are killed, and some houses burned, but the boat recovered.

On March 16, 1521, the first of the Philippines (by them called the archipelago of San Lazaro) to be seen by Europeans, is sighted. Anchor is cast at a small desert island called Humunu, (but which

the mariners call "The watering-place of good signs" because the first traces of gold are found there), near Samar, where two tents are quickly set up for the sick, whom Magalhães himself tends with solicitude. March 18, they gain their first acquaintance with the natives, who prove hospitable, and promise fresh provisions. These are brought on the twenty-second of March, and the Europeans have their first sight of a tattooed Visayan chief, who, as well as his men, is decked out in gold ornaments. After a week's stay, the ships again set sail, Pigafetta almost coming to an untimely end by slipping over the side of the vessel while fishing, but happily saved by the aid of "that fount of mercy," the Virgin.

March 28, anchor is cast at the island of Limasaua (Mazava), where Enrique, the Malaccan slave of Magalhães, serves as interpreter. Amicable relations are speedily entered into and confirmed by the Malayan rite of blood brotherhood. The king of Limasaua, and his brother, the king of certain districts in Mindanao, prove most helpful, and are completely won over by a judicious presentation of gifts. Greatly are the natives impressed by the power of the new comers, as seen in the artillery and armor, and their astonishment is increased when Magalhães relates his course to their islands and the discovery of the strait.

On Good Friday, Pigafetta and a companion visit the natives ashore, where they spend the night in the king's palace, a typical Visayan house raised aloft on supports and thatched with nipa. Here the various ceremonies that he witnesses impress Pigafetta, and his companion, cast in coarser mould than he, becomes intoxicated. Pigafetta, always interested in

the language of the new peoples whom he meets, writes down certain of their words, whereat they are greatly astonished. He records that he "ate meat on Holy Friday, for I could not help myself." On Easter Sunday, the natives are deeply impressed by the mass that is celebrated ashore, and the cross which is planted in the highest part of the island, and which they promise to adore.

The limited amount of food in Limasaua, which is used only as a place of recreation by the two kings, who go there to visit one another and hunt, leads Magalhães to seek a more abundant harbor. Among the places pointed out where food is abundant is the island of Cebú, and there Magalhães determines to go, "for so did his unhappy fate will." After a seven days' stay at Limasaua, the course is laid to Cebú under the pilotage of the king of Limasaua, who is finally taken aboard the "Trinidad" as his vessel is unable to keep up with the swifter-moving European vessels. Entering the port of Cebú on April 7, amid the thunder of their guns, the settlement is thrown into consternation, but the Malaccan being sent ashore reassures them of his master's good intentions, whom he proclaims to be a "captain of the greatest king and prince in the world," who "was going to discover Malucho," but hearing of the great fame of the king of Cebú, wishes trade with him. The king of Cebú is willing to accord friendship to the Europeans, but asks a tribute, as it is the custom for all visitors to pay it to him. But no tribute will be paid him, asserts Enrique, and the king, at the advice of a Moro merchant who has heard of the deeds of the Portuguese along Malacca and the Indian coast, and confuses the strangers with them,

until undeceived by Enrique (who declares them to be much greater than the Portuguese), expresses his willingness to make friendship with Magalhães. With the help of the friendly king of Limasaua, peace is made according to Malay rites, and gifts exchanged. Magalhães, deeply religious, in common with many of his age, early seeks to lure the natives of Cebú to holy baptism, by presenting to them its most attractive side, and promising the king if he becomes a Christian, a suit of armor; but they must become willing converts, and not for the hope of gain or for fear. The peace is more firmly cemented by the visit of Pigafetta and a companion to the king, where they witness ceremonies similar to those of Limasaua, and where gifts are bestowed upon the king and some others. They also visit the house of the prince apparent, where they hear their first concert of Visayan music and see a native dance. On the following Wednesday two of the crew are buried ashore on consecrated ground with as much pomp as possible.

Trading is instituted by carrying a quantity of merchandise ashore, the safety of which is assured by the king. Those people are found to have weights and measures for their trading; and besides their gongs, a flute-like instrument. Their houses are entered by ladders. On Friday begins the trading, gold being given for metals and large articles, and food for the smaller wares. The good bargains obtained by the Europeans, would have been materially less and the trade spoiled forever had it not been for Magalhães's watchfulness, for so eager are the men at the sight of the gold, that they would have given almost anything for it. On the following Sun-

day, the king and his chief men, and the queen and many women, are baptized and given European names, and ere the week closes all the Cebuans have become Christians, as well as some from neighboring islands. The queen at her earnest request, is given a small image of the Christ child, the same afterward recovered by Legazpi, and still held in the greatest of reverence at Cebú. The opposition of certain chiefs to the king of Cebú is satisfactorily ended by the inducements and threats of Magalhães. The latter swears to be faithful in his friendship with the natives, who likewise swear allegiance to the king of Spain. However, the natives are loath to destroy their idols, according to their promise, and Magalhães finds them still sacrificing to them for the cure of sickness. Substituting therefore the assurance that the new faith will work a cure, in lieu of which he offers his head, the sick man (who is the prince's brother and the bravest and wisest man in the island) is miraculously cured. Thereupon many idols are burned amid great demonstrations. Vivid descriptions are given of the people and their customs and ceremonies, especially those of sacrifice and mourning.

April 20, a chief from the neighboring island of Mactan sends a small present to Magalhães, with the request to aid him with a boat load of men against the chief Cilapulapu, who refuses allegiance to Spain. Magalhães in his ardor, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of his friends, leads three boat loads of men (sixty in all) to the island, where having ordered the king of Cebú to be a witness of the battle only, he engages the natives. Disastrous indeed does that day prove, for beset by multitudes of

foes, the Europeans are compelled to retreat, and the retreat becomes a rout, the personal bravery of Magalhães and a few of his closest friends only saving the men from almost complete massacre. Recognizing the leader, the natives make their greatest efforts against him, and finally he is killed while knee deep in the water, but after all the others are saved. Pigafetta's lament is tragic and sorrowful; they "killed our mirror, our light, our comfort, and our true guide." Insolent in their victory, the natives refuse to give up the body of the slain leader at the request of the king of Cebú. The Europeans stunned by the loss of their leader, withdraw their merchandise and guards to the ship, and make preparations for departure. Duarte Barbosa and João de Serrão are chosen leaders. The second act in the drama follows speedily. The slave Enrique, enraged at a severe reprimand and threats by Barbosa, conspires with the king of Cebú; with the result that twenty-six men, including both of the leaders, are murdered at a banquet on May 1, to which the king invites them. João Carvalho, deaf to the entreaties of João Serrão, his comrade, and anxious to become leader, sails away leaving him to his death. Pigafetta names the products of Cebú, and gives a valuable vocabulary of Visayan words, most of which are still in use by those people.

By mutual consent, the three vessels proceed to Bohol, where the "Concepcion" is burned, as there are too few men left to work all three ships; although its supplies and all else possible are transferred to the "Victoria" and "Trinidad." Then, cruising along, they put in at Mindanao where Pigafetta goes ashore alone, after the king has made

blood friendship at the ships. There they hear of Luzón, where the Chinese trade annually. Departing from Mindanao, they anchor at Cagayan Sulu, a penal settlement for Borneo, where the blowpipe and poisoned arrows are used, and the daggers adorned with gold. The next anchorage is at Paragua, although before reaching that island, the men have been tempted to abandon the ships because of hunger. There the rice is cooked under the fire in bamboos and is better than that cooked in earthen pots. Those people raise fighting cocks and bet on their favorite birds. Ten leagues from Paragua is the great island of Borneo, whither the ships next go, and anchor at the city of Brunei, which is built over the water, and contains twenty-five thousand fires. Hospitably received by eight chiefs who visit the ships, they enter into relations with the Borneans. Seven men go as ambassadors to visit the king, and bear presents to him and the chief men. Here some of the grandeurs of an oriental court are spread before their eyes, which Pigafetta briefly describes. The strangers are graciously given permission to take on fresh supplies of food, water, and wood, and to trade at pleasure. Later actions of the Borneans cause the men of the ships to fear treachery, and forestalling any action by that people, they attack a number of junks near them, and capture four. Among the captives is the son of the king of Luzón, who is the chief captain in Borneo, and whom Carvalho allows to escape, without consulting the others, for a large sum of gold. His action in so doing reacts on himself, for the king refuses to allow two men who were ashore and Carvalho's own son (born of a native woman in Brazil) to return to the ships, and

they are left behind. The Borneans and their junks are described. They use porcelain dishes which are made from a fine white clay that is buried under ground for fifty years in order to refine it, and inherited from father to son. Camphor is obtained there, and the island is so large that it can be circumnavigated by a prau only in three months' time.

On leaving Borneo, a number of prisoners from the captured junks are kept, among them three women whom Carvalho ostensibly retains as presents for the queen of Spain, but in reality for himself. Happily escaping from the point on which one of the ships has become grounded, and the fear of explosion from a candle which is snuffed into a barrel of powder, the ships anchor at a point of Borneo, where for forty-two days, the men are busied in repairing, calking, and furnishing the vessels. The journey is resumed back toward Paragua, the governor of a district of that island being captured on the way; with whom, however, they enter into friendly relations. Thence the ships cruise along between Cagayan, Joló, and Mindanao, capturing a native boat from Maingdanao of the latter island, from the captive occupants of which they learn news of the Moluccas. Pushing on amid stormy weather, they anchor at the island of Sarangani, just south of Mindanao; and thence proceed in a generally southerly direction amid many islands until the Moluccas are reached, and they enter the harbor of Tidore on Friday, November 8, 1521, after twenty-seven months, less two days, since their departure from Spain.

At Tidore a warm welcome awaits them from the king, who is a powerful astrologer and has been ex-

pecting their arrival. He promises them as many cloves as they wish, even offering to go outside his island, contrary to the practice of kings, to provide them the sooner; in return for his services hoping for their aid in his designs for power in the Moluccas, especially against the king of Ternate. There they learn that Francisco Serrão, the great friend of Magalhães, has perished some eight months previously from poison administered by the king of Tidore, whom he had visited, because he had aided the king of Ternate against Tidore. This Serrão, says Pigafetta, was the cause of Magalhães undertaking his expedition, and he had been in the Moluccas for ten years, for so long ago had Portugal discovered those islands. The efforts of the Ternatans to gain the new strangers fail, for they are already pledged to the king of Tidore. On November 12, a house is built ashore and on the thirteenth the merchandise is carried there, among it being that captured with the various junks at and near Borneo. The sailors are somewhat careless of their bargains for they are in haste to return to Spain. The king continues his kindness, and to humor him, as he is a Mahometan, all the swine in the boats are killed. This relation will be concluded in VOL. XXXIV.

THE EDITORS

December, 1905.

PRIMO VIAGGIO INTORNO AL MONDO

By Antonio Pigafetta. MS. composed *ca.* 1525, of events of 1519-1522

SOURCE: Our transcript is made from the original document which exists in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, Italy.

TRANSLATION: This is made by James Alexander Robertson.

[PRIMO VIAGGIO INTORNO AL MONDO]

Antonio pigafeta patricio vicentino et Caualier de Rhodi aL JlL^{mo}. et Exell^{mo}. S. philipo de villers lisleadam Jnclito grã mai/t^{o} de Rhoddj /ignior /uo ob/eruanti//imo.

Perche /ono molti curio/i IlL^{mo} et exell^{mo}. Signor che non /olamente /e contentano de /apere et Intendere li grandi et admirabillj co/e che dio me a conce//o de vedere et patire nela infra/cripta mia longa et pericolo/a nauigatiõe. Ma anchora vogliono /apere li mezi et modi et vie che ho tenuto ad andarui, non pre/tando q^{e}lla Jntegra fede aL exito /e prima nõ anno bonna Certeza deL initio pertanto /apera v^{a}. Jll^{a}. s^{a}. che ritrouandomi neL anno de La natiuita deL nño /aluatore m^{o}.v^{c}.xix in /pagnia in la corte deL sereni//imo Re de romani con el R^{do} mons^{or}. franc^{o} chieregato alhora proẽho ap^{co}. et oratore de La s^{ta}. memoria de papa Leone x^{o}. che per /ua vertu dapoi he acce/o aL epis^{to}. di aprutino et principato de teramo. Hauendo yo hauuto grã noti/ia ꝑ molti libri letti et per diuer/e per/onne che praticauano con sua s^{a}. de le grande et /tupende co/e deL mare

[FIRST VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD]

Antonio Pigafeta,[1] patrician of Venezia and knight of Rhodi [*i.e.*, Rhodes],[2] to the most illustrious and excellent Lord, Philipo de Villers Lisleadam,[3] renowned grand master of Rhoddi, his most honored lord.[4]

Inasmuch as, most illustrious and excellent Lord, there are many curious persons who not only take pleasure in knowing and hearing the great and wonderful things which God has permitted me to see and suffer during my long and dangerous voyage, hereto appended, but who also wish to know the means and manners and paths that I have taken in making that voyage [*literally*: "in going thither"]; and who do not lend that entire faith to the end unless they have a perfect assurance of the beginning: therefore, your most illustrious Lordship must know that, finding myself, in the year of the nativity of our Savior MCCCCCXIX in Spagnia, in the court of the most serene king of the Romans,[5] with the reverend Monsignor, Francesco Chieregato, then apostolic protonotary and nuncio of Pope Leo X of holy memory (and who has since become bishop of Aprutino and prince of Teramo),[6] and having learned many things from many books that I had read, as well as from various persons,[7] who discussed the great and marvelous things of the Ocean Sea with his Lordship,

occeanno deliberay con bonna gratia deLa magesta Cezaria et deL prefacto S. mio far experientia di me et andare a vedere q^{e}lle co/e che pote//ero dare alguna /ati/fatiõe a me mede/mo et pote//ero parturirmi q^{a}lche nome apre//o la po/terita hauendo Inte/o q̃ alora /i era preparata vna armata in la cita de Siuiglia che era de cinq3 naue per andare a /coprire la Speceria nele y/olle de maluco de la q^{a}lle era capitanio generalle ferando de magaglianes gentilhomo portugue/e et era com^{re} de s^{to}. Jacobo de la /pada piu volte cõ molte /ue laude haueua peregrato in diuer/e guize lo mare occeanno. Mi parti cõ molte letere di fauore dela cita de bar/alonna doue alhora re/ideua sua mage/ta et /op^{a} vna naue pa//ay /ino amalega onde pigliando eL Camino ꝑ tera jun/i a /iuiglia et iui e//endo /tato ben circa tre me/i e/petando que La dicta armata se pone/e in hordine ꝑ la partita finalmente como q^{i} de /oto intendera v ex^{a} s^{a}. con felici//imi au/pitij in comen/iamo la nr̃a nauigatiõe Et ꝑcr̃e ne le/er mio in ytalia Quando andaua a la /antita de papa Clemente q^{e}lla per /ua gratia amontero/o ver/o dime se dimo/tro assai benigna et humana et di/semi che li /arebe grato li copia//e tute q^{e}lle co/e haueua vi/te et pa//ate nella nauigatiõe Benche yo ne habia hauuta pocha Como dita niente dimeno /egondo el mio debiL potere li ho voluto /ati/fare. Et co/i li oferi/co in que/to mio libreto tute le vigilie fatiq3 et peregrinatiõe mie pre-

I determined, by the good favor of his Cæsarean Majesty, and of his Lordship abovesaid, to experience and to go to see those things for myself, so that I might be able thereby to satisfy myself somewhat, and so that I might be able to gain some renown for later posterity.[8] Having heard that a fleet composed of five vessels had been fitted out in the city of Siviglia for the purpose of going to discover the spicery in the islands of Maluco, under command of Captain-general Fernando de Magaglianes,[9] a Portuguese gentleman, comendador of the [Order of] Santo Jacobo de la Spada [*i.e.*, "St. James of the Sword"],[10] [who] had many times traversed the Ocean Sea in various directions, whence he had acquired great praise, I set out from the city of Barsalonna, where his Majesty was then residing, bearing many letters in my favor. I went by ship as far as Malega, where, taking the highroad, I went overland to Siviglia. Having been there about three full months, waiting for the said fleet to be set in order for the departure,[11] finally, as your most excellent Lordship will learn below, we commenced our voyage under most happy auspices. And inasmuch as when I was in Ytalia and going to see his Holiness, Pope Clement,[12] you by your grace showed yourself very kind and good to me at Monteroso, and told me that you would be greatly pleased if I would write down for you all those things which I had seen and suffered during my voyage; and although I have had little opportunity, yet I have tried to satisfy your desire according to my poor ability; therefore, I offer you, in this little book of mine, all my vigils, hardships, and wanderings, begging you, although

gandola quando la vachera dalle a/idue cure Rhodianne se degni tran/corerle peril que me potera e/sere nõ pocho remunerato da V Jll. s. a la cui bonna grac[a] mi donno et recomando.

Hauendo deliberato il capitanio generalle difare co/i longa nauigatiõe ꝑ lo mare occeanno doue /empre /onno Jnpetuo/i venti et fortune grandi et nõ volendo manife/tare aniuno deli /uoj el viagio che voleua fare açio nõ fo//e /marito in pen/are de fare tanto grande et /tupenda co/a como fece cõ lo aiuto de ydio li Capitani /ui che menaua in /ua cõpagnia lo odiauano molto nõ /o perche /inon ꝑche era portugue/e et e/si /pagnioli. Volendo dar fine a que/to que promi/e cõ Juramento aLo inperatore D. carlo Re de /pagnia açio le naue nele fortune et nela nocte non se separe//eno vna de lalt[a]. ordeno questo hordine et lo dete atuti li piloti et mae/tri de le /ue naui Loqual era lui de note /empre voleua andar inanzi dele altre naui et elle /eguita/eno la /ua con vna facela grande de legnio che la quiamano farol Qual /emp̃ portaua pendẽte de la popa de la Sua naue que/to /egniale era açio de continuo lo /eguita/eno se faceua vno alt[o] fuoco con vna lanterna ho cõ vno pezo de corda de iuncho che la chiamã strengue di Sparto molto batuto neL hacqua et poi /ecado al /ole ho vero al fumo ottimo per simil cosa ge re/ponde-/eno açio /ape/se per chesto /egnialle che tute veniuano in/ieme se faceua duj focq[i] /enza lo farolo vira/seno o voltasenno in altra banda quando eL

you are busied with continual Rhodian cares, to deign to skim through it, by which I shall be enabled to receive a not slight remuneration from your most illustrious Lordship, to whose good favor I consign and commend myself.[13]

The captain-general having resolved to make so long a voyage through the Ocean Sea, where furious winds and great storms are always reigning, but not desiring to make known to any of his men the voyage that he was about to make, so that they might not be cast down at the thought of doing so great and extraordinary a deed, as he did accomplish with the aid of God (the captains who accompanied him, hated him exceedingly, I know not why, unless because he was a Portuguese, and they Spaniards), with the desire to conclude what he promised under oath to the emperor, Don Carlo, king of Spagnia, prescribed the following orders and gave them to all the pilots and masters of his ships, so that the ships might not become separated from one another during the storms and night.[14] These were [to the effect] that he would always precede the other ships at night, and they were to follow his ship which would have a large torch of wood, which they call *farol*.[15] He always carried that *farol* set at the poop of his ship as a signal so that they might always follow him. Another light was made by means of a lantern or by means of a piece of wicking made from a rush and called *sparto* rope [16] which is well beaten in the water, and then dried in the sun or in the smoke – a most excellent material for such use. They were to answer him so that he might know by that signal whether all of the ships were coming together.

vento nõ era buono et al prepo/ito ꝑ andar al nr̃o camino ho q̃do voleua far pocho viagio se faceua tre fuochi tole/seno via la bonneta, che he vna parte de uela che se ataca da ba/so dela vela magiore quando fa bon tempo ꝑ andar piu la setol via açio /ia piu facile aracogliere la vela magior quando se amayna in pre/sa in vno tempo subito: Si faceua quatro fochi amay/seno tute le vele facendo poi lui vno /egniale di fuoco como staua fermo Se faceua piu fochi ouero tiraua alguna bõ barda fose segniale de tera o de bassi. Poi faceua quatro fuochi quando voleua far alsare le vele in alto açio loro nauega/seno /eguendo /empr̃ ꝑ Quela facela de popa Quando voleua far metere la boneta faceua tre fuochi Quando voleua voltar/e in altra parte faceua duj Volendo poi sapere se tute le naue lo seguitavão et veniuão in/ieme faceua vno ꝑche cu/si ogni naue face/se et li re/ponde/e ogni nocte /e faceua tre gardie la pª nel principio de la nocte La /econda Que la chiamano modora neL me/o La tª nel fine tuta la gente dele naue se partiua in tre Coloneli el pº era del capº. houero del contra maistro mudando/e ogni nocte. Lo secondo deL piloto ho nochiero. Lo tº del mae/tro ꝑ tanto lo Capº genneral Comando che tute le naue obserua/eno Que/ti /egniali et guardie acio se anda/e piu /eguri.

If he showed two lights besides that of the *farol*, they were to veer or take another tack, [doing this] when the wind was not favorable or suitable for us to continue on our way, or when he wished to sail slowly. If he showed three lights, they were to lower away the bonnet-sail, which is a part of the sail that is fastened below the mainsail, when the weather is suitable for making better time. It is lowered so that it may be easier to furl the mainsail when it is struck hastily during a sudden squall.[17] If he showed four lights, they were to strike all the sails;[18] after which he showed a signal by one light, [which meant] that he was standing still. If he showed a greater number of lights, or fired a mortar, it was a signal of land or of shoals.[19] Then he showed four lights when he wished to have the sails set full, so that they might always sail in his wake by the torch on the poop. When he desired to set the bonnet-sail, he showed three lights.[20] When he desired to alter his course, he showed two;[21] and then if he wished to ascertain whether all the ships were following and whether they were coming together, he showed one light, so that each one of the ships might do the same and reply to him. Three watches were set nightly: the first at the beginning of the night; the second, which is called the midnight,[22] and the third at the end [of the night]. All of the men in the ships were divided into three parts: the first was the division of the captain or boatswain, those two alternating nightly; the second, of either the pilot or boatswain's mate; and the third, of the master.[23] Thus did the captain-general order that all the ships observe the above signals and watches, so that their voyage might be more propitious.[24]

Luni a x ď agusto g° de /ancto laurentio Nel anno Ja deto e/sendo la armata fornita de tute le cose necessarie per mare et dogni /orte de gente eramo ducente et trenta/ete homini nela matina Se feceno p̃/te per partir/e daL mole de siuiglia et tirando molta artegliaria deteno il trinqueto aL vento et venne abaso del fiume betis al pñte detto gadalcauir passando ꝑ vno luocho chiamato gioan dal farax che era gia grande habitatiõe de mori per mezo lo q[a]lle /taua vn ponte che pasaua el dicto fiume ꝑ andare a siuiglia dilque li e re/tato fin aL pre/ente nel fondo del acqua due colonne que quando pa//ano le naui año bi/ognio de homini q̃ /apianno ben lo Locho delle colonne ꝑ cio nõ de//eno in e//e et e bi/ognio pa//arle quanto el fiume /ta piu cre//ente et anche ꝑ molti altri luochi deL fiume q̃ nõ a tanto fondo che ba/te ꝑ pa//are le naui cargate et q[e]lle non /ianno tropo grandi Poi venirono ad un alt° q̃/e chiama coria pa//ando ꝑ molti altri villagij a longo deL fiume tanto q̃ ajon/eno ad vno ca/tello deL duca de medina cidonia il q[a]lle /e chiama S. lucar che e porto ꝑ entrare nel mare occeanno leuante ponente cõ il capo de /anct vincent che /ta in 37 gradi de latitudine et longui dal deto porto x leghe da Siuiglia fin aq[i] ꝑ lo fiume gli /onno 17 ho 20 Leghe dali alquanti giorni vene el capitanio genneralle cõ li alt[i] cap[i] ꝑ lo fiume aba//o neli bateli de le naue et iui /te//imo molti giorni per finire la armata de alcune

On Monday morning, August x, St. Lawrence's day, in the year abovesaid, the fleet, having been supplied with all the things necessary for the sea,[25] (and counting those of every nationality, we were two hundred and thirty-seven men), made ready to leave the harbor of Siviglia.[26] Discharging many pieces of artillery, the ships held their forestaysails to the wind, and descended the river Betis, at present called Gadalcavir, passing by a village called Gioan dal Farax, once a large Moorish settlement. In the midst of it was once a bridge that crossed the said river, and led to Siviglia. Two columns of that bridge have remained even to this day at the bottom of the water, and when ships sail by there, they need men who know the location of the columns thoroughly, so that the ships may not strike against them. They must also be passed when the river is highest with the tide; as must also many other villages along the river, which has not sufficient depth [of itself] for ships that are laden and which are not very large to pass. Then the ships reached another village called Coria, and passed by many other villages along the river, until they came to a castle of the duke of Medina Cidonia, called San Lucar, which is a port by which to enter the Ocean Sea.[27] It is in an east and west direction with the cape of Sanct Vincent, which lies in 37 degrees of latitude, and x leguas from the said port.[28] From Siviglia to this point [*i.e.*, San Lucar], it is 17 or 20 leguas by river.[29] Some days after, the captain-general, with his other captains, descended the river in the small boats belonging to their ships. We remained there for a considerable number of days in order to finish [30]

co/e li manchauão et ogni di andauamo in tera ad aldir me//a aduno locho q̃ /e chiama ñra dona de baremeda circa S. lucar. Et avanti la partita Lo cap° genneraL vol/e tucti /e confe//a/eno et nõ con-/entite ninguna dona veni//e ne Larmata per meglior ri/pecto.

Marti a xx de /eptembr̃ neL mede/imo anno ne parti//emo da que/to Locho chiamato /an luchar pigliando La via de garbin et a 26 deL dicto me/e ariua//emo a vna Jsola de la grã canaria q̃ /e di/e teneriphe in 28 gradi de Latitudine per pigliar carne acha et legnia /te//imo yui tre giorni et mezo per fornire Larmata de le decte cose poi anda//emo a vno porto de La mede/ma y/ola deto monte ro//o p̱ pegolla tardando dui giorni Sapera vr̃a IlL^{ma} s^{a}. q̃ in que/te y/olle dela grã canaria ge vna infra le altre ne laq^{a}lle nõ /i troua pur vna goza de hacqua q̃ na/cha /inon nel mezo di de/cendere vna nebola daL ciello et circunda vno grande arbore che e ne la dicta y/ola /tilando dale /ue foglie et ramy molta hacqua et al piede deL dicto arbore e adri//ado in guiza de fontana vna fo//a houe ca/ca tuta la acqua de La q^{a}lle li homini habitanti et animali cosi dome/tici como /aluatici ogni giorno de que/ta hacqua et nõ de alt^{a} habondanti//imamẽte /i saturano.

Luni a tre doctobre a meza nocte /e dete le velle aL Camino deL au/tro in golfandone neL mare occeanno pa//ando fra capo verde et le /ue y/olle in

[providing] the fleet with some things that it needed. Every day we went ashore to hear mass in a village called Nostra Dona de Baremeda [our Lady of Barrameda], near San Lucar. Before the departure, the captain-general wished all the men to confess, and would not allow any [31] woman to sail in the fleet for the best of considerations.

We left that village, by name San Luchar, on Tuesday, September xx of the same year, and took a southwest course.[32] On the 26th [33] of the said month, we reached an island of the Great Canaria, called Teneriphe, which lies in a latitude of 28 degrees, [landing there] in order to get flesh, water, and wood.[34] We stayed there for three and one-half days in order to furnish the fleet with the said supplies. Then we went to a port of the same island called Monte Rosso [35] to get pitch,[36] staying [there] two days. Your most illustrious Lordship must know that there is a particular one of the islands of the Great Canaria, where one can not find a single drop of water which gushes up [from a spring]; [37] but that at noontide a cloud descends from the sky and encircles a large tree which grows in the said island, the leaves and branches of which distil a quantity of water. At the foot of the said tree runs a trench which resembles a spring, where all the water falls, and from which the people living there, and the animals, both domestic and wild, fully satisfy themselves daily with this water and no other.[38]

At midnight of Monday, October three, the sails were trimmed toward the south,[39] and we took to the open Ocean Sea, passing between Cape Verde and its islands in 14 and one-half degrees. Thus for

14 gradi et mezo et cu//i molti giorni nauiga//imo ꝑ La co/ta de la ghinea houero ethiopia nela q^{a}lle he vna montagnia detta /iera leona in 8 gradi de latitudine con venti contrari calme et piogie senza venti fin a la lignea equinotialle piouendo /e/anta giornj de continuo contra la opignione de li anticq^{i} Jnanzi q̃ ajunge//emo ali legnea a 14 gradi molte gropade de venti inpetuo/i et corenti de acqua ne a/altaronno contra el viagio nõ po//endo /pontare Jnan/i et acio q̃ le naue nõ pericula//eno. Se calauano tute le velle et de q3/ta /orte andauamo de mare in trauer/o fin q̃ pa//aua la grupada ꝑche veniua molto furiosa. Quando pioueua nõ era vento. Quando faceua /olle era bonna/a. veniuano aL bordo de le naue certi pe//i grandi q̃ /e quiamano tiburoni q̃ anno denti teribilli et /e trouano hominj neL mare li mangiano. pigliauamo molti cõ hami de fero benche nõ /onno bonni da mangiare /e non li picoli et anche loro maL bonny. Jn que/te fortune molte volte ne apar/e il corpo /ancto cioe /ancto elmo in lume fra le altre in vna ob/curi//ima nocte de taL /plendore come e vna facella ardente in cima de La magiore gabia et /te circa due hore et piu cõ noi con/olandone q̃ piangevão quanto que/ta bennedeta luce/e vol/e partire da nuy tanto grandi//imo /plendore dete ne li hocq^{i} no/t^{i} q̃ /te/emo piu de mezo carto de hora tuti cieq^{i} chiamando mi/ericordia et veramẽte credendo e//ere morti el mare /ubito /e aquieto.

Viti molte /orte de vcelli tra le q^{a}lle vna q̃ nõ haueua culo. vn altra quando la femina vol far li

many days did we sail along the coast of Ghinea, or Ethiopia, where there is a mountain called Siera Leona, which lies in 8 degrees of latitude, with contrary winds, calms, and rains without wind, until we reached the equinoctial line, having sixty days of continual rain.[40] Contrary to the opinion of the ancients,[41] before we reached the line many furious squalls of wind, and currents of water struck us head on in 14 degrees. As we could not advance, and in order that the ships might not be wrecked,[42] all the sails were struck; and in this manner did we wander hither and yon on the sea, waiting for the tempest to cease, for it was very furious.[43] When it rained there was no wind. When the sun shone, it was calm. Certain large fishes called *tiburoni* [*i.e.*, sharks] came to the side of the ships. They have terrible teeth, and whenever they find men in the sea they devour them. We caught many of them with iron hooks,[44] although they are not good to eat unless they are small, and even then they are not very good. During those storms the holy body, that is to say St. Elmo, appeared to us many times, in light – among other times on an exceedingly dark night,[45] with the brightness of a blazing torch, on the maintop, where he stayed for about two hours or more, to our consolation, for we were weeping. When that blessed light was about to leave us, so dazzling was the brightness that it cast into our eyes, that we all remained for more than an eighth of an hour[46] blinded and calling for mercy. And truly when we thought that we were dead men, the sea suddenly grew calm.[47]

I saw many kinds of birds, among them one that had no anus; and another, [which] when the female

oui li fa soura la /quena deL ma/chio et iui /e creanno nõ anno piede et /empre Viueno neL mare. vn altra /orte q̃ viueno deL /tercho de li altⁱ vcelli et nõ de altᵒ Si como viti molte volte que/to vcello qᵃL chiamamo Caga//ela corer dietro ad altⁱ vcelli fin tanto qᵉlli /onno con/trecti mandar fuora eL /tercho /ubito Lo piglia et La//a andare lo vcello anchora viti molti pe//i q̃ volauano et molti altⁱ congregadi in/ieme q̃ pareuano vna y/ola.

Pa//ato q̃ haue//emo la linea equinotiale in ver/o el meridianno ꝑ de//emo la tramontana et co/i /e nauego tra el me/o Jorno et garbin fino en vna tera che se di/e la tera deL verzin in 23 gradi ½ aL polo antãtico q̃ e tera deL capo de Sᵗᵒ augu/tino q̃ /ta in 8 gradi aL mede/imo polo do ue piglia//emo grã refre/cho de galine batate pigne molte dolci fruto in vero piu gentiL que /ia carne de anta como vaca canne dolci et altre co/e infinite q̃ La/cio ꝑ non e//ere ꝑlixo ꝑ vno amo da pe/care o vno cortello dauano 5. ho 6. galinne ꝑ vno petine vno paro de occati ꝑ vno /pequio ho vna forfice tanto pe/ce q̃ hauerebe ba/tato a x homini ꝑ vno /onaglio o vna /tringa vno ce/to de batate. q3/te batate /onno aL mangiare como ca/tagnie et longo como napi et ꝑ vno re de danari q̃ e vna carta de Jocare me deteno 6. galine et pen/auano anchora hauernj inganati Jntra//emo in que /to porto iL giorno de /ancta lucia

wishes to lay its eggs, it does so on the back of the male and there they are hatched. The latter bird has no feet, and always lives in the sea. [There is] another kind which live on the ordure of the other birds, and in no other manner; for I often saw this bird, which is called Cagassela, fly behind the other birds, until they are constrained to drop their ordure, which the former seizes immediately and abandons the latter bird. I also saw many flying fish, and many others collected together, so that they resembled an island.[48]

After we had passed the equinoctial line going south, we lost the north star, and hence we sailed south south-west[49] until [we reached] a land called the land of Verzin[50] which lies in 23½ degrees of the Antarctic Pole [*i.e.*, south latitude]. It is the land extending from the cape of Santo Augustino, which lies in 8 degrees of the same pole. There we got a plentiful refreshment of fowls, potatoes [*batate*], many sweet pine-apples – in truth the most delicious fruit that can be found – the flesh of the *anta*,[51] which resembles beef, sugarcane, and innumerable other things, which I shall not mention in order not to be prolix. For one fishhook or one knife, those people gave 5 or 6 chickens; for one comb, a brace of geese; for one mirror or one pair of scissors, as many fish as would be sufficient for x men; for a bell or one leather lace, one basketful of potatoes [*batate*]. These potatoes resemble chestnuts in taste, and are as long as turnips.[52] For a king of diamonds [*danari*],[53] which is a playing card, they gave me 6[54] fowls and thought that they had even cheated me. We entered that port on St. Lucy's day,

et in q^{e}L di haue//emo eL /olle ꝑ Zenit et pati//emo piu caldo. q^{e}L giorno et li alt^{i} quãdo haueuão eL /olle ꝑ zenit che Quando eramo /oto la linea equinotialle.

Que/ta tera deL verzin e abondantiss^{a} et piu grande q̃ /pagnia fran/a et Jtalia tute in/ieme. e deL re de portugalo li populi de que/ta tera nõ /onno chri/tiani et nõ adorano co/a alguna viueno /ecõdo Lo vzo de La natura et viueno Cento vinticinque anny et cẽto et quaranta. Vano nudi co//i homini como femine habitano in certe ca/e longue che le chiamano boij et dormeno in rete de bã ba/o chiamate amache ligade ne le medeme ca/e da vno capo et da Lalt^{o} a legni gro//i fanno foco infra e//i in tera in ogni vno de que/ti boij /tano cento homini cõ le /ue moglie et figlioli facendo grã romore anno barche duno /olo arburo ma/chize quiamate ca noe cauate cõ menare de pietra que/ti populi adoperão le pietre Como nui el fero ꝑ nõ hauere /tanno trenta et quaranta homini in vna de que/te. vogano cõ palle como da forno et cu//i negri nubi et tosi asimigliano quando vogano aq^{e}lli de la/tigie palude. Sono di/po/ti homini et femine como noi Mangiano carne humana de Li /ui nemici non ꝑ bonna ma ꝑ vna certa vzan/a Que/ta vzan/a Lo vno con laltro. fu principio vna vequia Laq^{a}lle haueua /olamente vno figliolo q̃ fu amazato dali suoi nemici ꝑ iL q̃ pa//ati alguni giorni li /ui pigliorono vno de la Compagnia q̃ haueua morto

and on that day had the sun on the zenith;[55] and we were subjected to greater heat on that day and on the other days when we had the sun on the zenith, than when we were under the equinoctial line.[56]

That land of Verzin is wealthier and larger than Spagnia, Fransa, and Italia,[57] put together, and belongs to the king of Portugalo. The people of that land are not Christians, and have no manner of worship. They live according to the dictates of nature,[58] and reach an age of one hundred and twenty-five and one hundred and forty years.[59] They go naked, both men and women. They live in certain long houses which they call *boii*,[60] and sleep in cotton hammocks called *amache*, which are fastened in those houses by each end to large beams. A fire is built on the ground under those hammocks. In each one of those *boii*, there are one hundred men with their wives and children,[61] and they make a great racket. They have boats called canoes made of one single huge tree,[62] hollowed out by the use of stone hatchets. Those people employ stones as we do iron, as they have no iron. Thirty or forty men occupy one of those boats. They paddle with blades like the shovels of a furnace, and thus, black, naked, and shaven, they resemble, when paddling, the inhabitants of the Stygian marsh.[63] Men and women are as well proportioned as we. They eat the human flesh of their enemies, not because it is good, but because it is a certain established custom. That custom, which is mutual, was begun by an old woman,[64] who had but one son who was killed by his enemies. In return some days later, that old woman's friends captured one of the company who had killed her

Suo figliolo et Lo condusero doue /taua que/ta vequia ela vedendo et ricordando/e deL fuo figliolo como cagnia rabiata li cor/e ado//o et Lo mordete in vna /pala co/tui deli a pocho fugi neli /oi et di//e Como Lo vol/ero mangiare mo/trandoli eL /egnialle de La /pala. qñ que/ti pigliarono poi de q^{e}lli li mangiorono et q^{e}lli de que/ti /iche ꝑ que/to he venuta tal vzan/a. Non /e mangiano /ubito ma ogni vno taglia vno pezo et lo porta in ca/a metendola al fumo poi ogni 8. Jorni taglia vno pezeto mangiandolo bruto lado cõ le altre cose ꝑ memoria degli /ui nemici Que/to me di//e Johane carnagio piloto q̃ veniua cõ nuy el q^{a}lle era /tato in que/ta tera quatro anny Que/ta gente /e depingeno marauiglio/amẽte tuto iL corpo et iL volto con foco in diuer/i a maniere ancho le done /ono [sono: *doublet in original MS.*] to/i et /en/a barba perche /e la pelanno. Se ve/teno de ve/tituf̃ de piume de papagalo cõ rode grande aL cullo de Le penne magiore cosa ridicula ca/i tuti li homini eccepto le femine et fanciuli hano tre bu/i ne lauro de/oto oue portano pietre rotonde et Longue vno dito et piu et meno de fora pendente. nõ /onno del tuto negri ma oliua/tri portano de/coperte le parte vergonio/e iL Suo corpo e /enza peli et co//i homini q^{a}L donne Sempre Vano nudi iL Suo re e chiamato cacich anno infiniti//imi papagali et ne danno 8 ho 10 ꝑ vno /pecho et gati

son, and brought him to the place of her abode. She seeing him, and remembering her son, ran upon him like an infuriated bitch, and bit him on one shoulder. Shortly afterward he escaped to his own people, whom he told that they had tried to eat him, showing them [in proof] the marks on his shoulder. Whomever the latter captured afterward at any time from the former they ate, and the former did the same to the latter, so that such a custom has sprung up in this way. They do not eat the bodies all at once, but every one cuts off a piece, and carries it to his house, where he smokes it. Then every week,[65] he cuts off a small bit, which he eats thus smoked with his other food to remind him of his enemies. The above was told me by the pilot, Johane Carnagio,[66] who came with us, and who had lived in that land for four years. Those people paint the whole body and the face in a wonderful manner with fire in various fashions, as do the women also. The men are [are: *doublet in original manuscript*] smooth shaven and have no beard, for they pull it out. They clothe themselves in a dress made of parrot feathers, with large round arrangements at their buttocks made from the largest feathers, and it is a ridiculous sight. Almost all the people, except the women and children,[67] have three holes pierced in the lower lip, where they carry round stones, one finger or thereabouts in length and hanging down outside. Those people are not entirely black, but of a dark brown color. They keep the privies uncovered, and the body is without hair,[68] while both men and women always go naked. Their king is called cacich [*i.e.*, cacique]. They have an infinite number of parrots,

maimoni picoli fati como leoni ma Jalli co/a belissima fano panne rotondo biancho de medola de arbore non molto bonno q̃ na/ce fra larbore et La /cor/a et he como recotta. hanno porci q̃ /op^{a} La /quena teneno eL suo lombelico et vcceli grandi q̃ anno eL becho como vn cuquiaro /en/a linga ne dauano ꝑ vno acceta ho cortello grãde vna ho due dele /ue figliole giouane ꝑ fchiaue ma /ua mogliere nõ darianno ꝑ co/a alguna Elle nõ farebenno vergonia a suoi mariti ꝑ ogni grã co/a come ne /tate referito de giorno nõ con/enteno a li Loro mariti ma /olamẽte de nocte. Esse Lauorano et portano tuto eL mãgiaꝛ suo da li monti in zerli ho vero cane/tri /uL capo ho atacati aL capo pero e//endo /empre /eco /ui mariti /olamẽte cõ vno archo de verzin o de palma negra et vno mazo de freze di canna et que/to fano per che /onno gelo/i le femine portano /ui figlioli tacadi aL colo in vna rete de banbazo. La/cio altre co/e ꝑ nõ e//ere piu longo. Se di//e due volte me//a in tera ꝑ il que que/ti /tauano cõ tanto contrictiõe in genoquionj aL/ando le mano giunte q̃ era grandiss^{o} piacere vederli Edificareno vna ca/a per nui pen/ando doue//emo /tar /eco algun tempo et taglia rono molto ver/in per darnela a la no/tra partida era /tato for/e duy me/i nõ haueua pioue/to in que/ta terra et Quando

and gave us 8 or 10 for one mirror; and little monkeys that look like lions, only [they are] yellow, and very beautiful.[69] They make round white [loaves of] bread from the marrowy substance of trees, which is not very good, and is found between the wood and the bark and resembles buttermilk curds.[70] They have swine which have their navels [*lombelico*] on their backs,[71] and large birds with beaks like spoons and no tongues.[72] The men gave us one or two of their young daughters as slaves for one hatchet or one large knife, but they would not give us their wives in exchange for anything at all. The women will not shame their husbands under any considerations whatever, and as was told us, refuse to consent to their husbands by day, but only by night.[73] The women cultivate the fields, and carry all their food from the mountains in panniers or baskets on the head or fastened to the head.[74] But they are always accompanied by their husbands, who are armed only with a bow of brazil-wood or of black palm-wood, and a bundle of cane arrows, doing this because they are jealous [of their wives]. The women carry their children hanging in a cotton net from their necks. I omit other particulars, in order not to be tedious. Mass was said twice on shore, during which those people remained on their knees with so great contrition and with clasped hands raised aloft, that it was an exceeding great pleasure [75] to behold them. They built us a house as they thought that we were going to stay with them for some time, and at our departure they cut a great quantity of brazil-wood [*verzin*] to give us.[76] It had been about two months since it had rained in

ajonge/emo aL porto per ca/o piouete ꝑ que/to deceuano noi vegnire daL cieLo et haueř monato no/co la piogia que/ti populi facilmente Se conuerterebenno a la fede de Je/u xpõ.

Jmprima co/toro pen/auano li batelli fo//ero figlioli de le naue et que elle li purturi//eno quando /e butauano fora di naue in mare et /tando co/i aL co/ta do como he vzan/a credeuano le naue li nutri//eno Vna Jouene bella vene vn di nela naue capitania, houe yo /taua non ꝑ altº /enon ꝑ trouař alguno recapito /tando co/si et a/pectando buto lo ochio supª la camera deL mai/tº et victe vno quiodo Longo piu de vn dito il que pigliando cõ grande gentile//a et galantaria se lo fico aparte aparte de li labri della /ua natura et subito ba//a ba/sa Se partite. Vedendo que/to iL capº. generale et yo.

Alguni Vocabuli de q3/ti populi deL verzin.

AL miglio.	Maiz
Alla farina.	hui
AL hamo.	pinda
AL cortello	tacse
Al petine	chigap
Alla forfice	pirame
AL /onaglio	Jtanmaraca
Buono piu q̃ bono	tum maragathum

Ste//emo 13. giorni in que/ta tera /eguendo poi il nřo camino anda/emo fin a 34 gradi et vno ter/o aL polo antarticho doue troua//emo in vno fiume de

that land, and when we reached that port, it happened to rain, whereupon they said that we came from the sky and that we had brought the rain with us.[77] Those people could be converted easily to the faith of Jesus Christ.

At first those people thought that the small boats were the children of the ships, and that the latter gave birth to them when they were lowered into the sea from the ships, and when they were lying so alongside the ships (as is the custom), they believed that the ships were nursing them.[78] One day a beautiful young woman came to the flagship, where I was, for no other purpose than to seek what chance might offer. While there and waiting, she cast her eyes upon the master's room, and saw a nail longer than one's finger. Picking it up very delightedly and neatly, she thrust it through the lips of her vagina [*natura*], and bending down low immediately departed, the captain-general and I having seen that action.[79]

Some words of those people of Verzin [80]

For Millet	maiz
for Flour	hui
for Fishhook	pinda
for Knife	tacse
for Comb	chigap
for Scissors	pirame
for Bell	itanmaraca
Good, better	tum maragathum

We remained in that land for 13 days. Then proceeding on our way, we went as far as 34 and one-third degrees [81] toward the Antarctic Pole,

acqua dolce homini q̃ /e chiamano Canibali et mangiano la carne humana vene vno de la /tatura ca/i como vno gigante nella naue capitania ꝑ asigurare li alt^{i} suoi haueua vna voce /imille a vno toro in tanto que que/to /tete ne la naue li alt^{i} portoronno via Le /ue robe daL loco doue habitauão dent^{o} nella terra ꝑ paura de noi Vedendo que/to /alta//imo in terra cento homini ꝑ haueꝛ̃ linga et parlare /echo ho vero ꝑ for/a pigliarne alguno fugiteno et fugẽdo face uano tanto grã pa//o q̃ noi /altando nõ poteuamo avan/are li sui pa//i. in que/to fiume /tanno /ette Jzolle. ne la maior de que/te /e troua pietre precio/e Qui se chiama capo de s^{ta}. maria gia /e pen/aua q̃ de qui /e pa/a//e aL mare de Sur cioe mezo di ne may piu altra fu di/couerto ade//o nõ he capo /inon fiume et a larga La boca 17 legue. Altre volte in que/to fiume fu mangiado da questi Canibali per tropo fidar/e vno Capitanio Spagniolo q̃ /e chiamaua Johã de solis et /esanta homini q̃ andauano a di/courire terra como nui.

Po /eguendo eL mede/imo camino ꝟ/o eL polo antarticho aco/to de terra veni//imo adare in due J/olle pienni de occati et loui marini veramente non /e porla narare iL grã numero de que/ti occati in vna hora carga//imo le cinque naue Que/ti occati /enno negri et anno tute le penne aduno modo co/si neL corpo como nelle ale. nõ volano et viueno de pe/se eranno tanti gra//i q̃ non bi/ogniaua pelarli ma /cor tiglarli anno lo beco como vno coruo Que/ti loui marini /onno de diuer/i colori et gro//i

where we found people at a freshwater river, called Canibali [*i.e.*, cannibals], who eat human flesh. One of them, in stature almost a giant, came to the flagship in order to assure [the safety of] the others his friends.[82] He had a voice like a bull. While he was in the ship, the others carried away their possessions from the place where they were living into the interior, for fear of us. Seeing that, we landed one hundred men in order to have speech and converse with them, or to capture one of them by force. They fled, and in fleeing they took so large a step that we although running could not gain on their steps. There are seven islands in that river, in the largest of which precious gems are found. That place is called the cape of Santa Maria, and it was formerly thought that one passed thence to the sea of Sur, that is to say the South Sea, but nothing further was ever discovered. Now the name is not [given to] a cape, but [to] a river, with a mouth 17 leguas in width.[83] A Spanish captain, called Johan de Solis and sixty men, who were going to discover lands like us, were formerly eaten at that river by those cannibals because of too great confidence.[84]

Then proceeding on the same course toward the Antarctic Pole, coasting along the land, we came to anchor at two islands full of geese and sea-wolves.[85] Truly, the great number of those geese cannot be reckoned; in one hour we loaded the five ships [with them]. Those geese are black and have all their feathers alike both on body and wings. They do not fly, and live on fish. They were so fat that it was not necessary to pluck them but to skin them. Their beak is like that of a crow. Those sea-wolves are of various colors, and as large as a calf,

como viteli et eL capo como loro cõ le orechie picole et tõde et denti grandi nõ anno gambe /enon piedi tacade aL corpo /imille a le nře mani cõ onguie picolle et fra li diti anno q^{e}lla pele. le och^{i}e /arebenno fe roci//ime /e pote//eno corere nodano et viueno de pe/cie Qui hebenno li naue grandi//ima fortuna ꝑ il que ne apar/eno molte volte li tre corpi /ancti çioe s^{to}. elmo s^{to}. nicolo et s^{ta} chiara et /ubito /e//aua la fortuna.

Partendone de q^{i} ariua//emo fin a 49 gradi et mezo aL antarticho e/sendo linuerno le naui introrono in vno bon porto ꝑ inuernar/e quiui /te/emo dui me/i /enza vedere ꝑ/onna alguna. Vndi a linproui/o vede//emo vno homo de /tatura de gigante q̃ /taua nudo nella riua deL porto balando cantando et butando/e poluere Soura la te/ta. JL capitanio gñale mando vno deli nři a lui acio face//e li mede/imi acti in /egno de pace et fati lo conduce in vna Jzolleta dinanzi aL cap^{o} gñalle Quando fo nella /ua et nřa pre/entia molto /e marauiglio et faceua /egni cõ vno dito alzato credendo veni//emo daL ciello Que/to erra tanto grande q̃ li dauamo a La cintura et ben di/po/to haueua La faza grande et depinta intorno de ro//o et Jntorno li ochi de Jallo cõ dui cori depinti in mezo de le galte. li pocq^{i} capili q̃ haueua erano tinti de biancho. era ve/tito de pelle de animale co/i de Sotilmente in/ieme el qualle animalle a eL capo et orechie grande como vna mula iL colo et iL corpo como vno camello, le

with a head like that of a calf, ears small and round, and large teeth. They have no legs but only feet with small nails attached to the body, which resemble our hands, and between their fingers the same kind of skin as the geese. They would be very fierce if they could run. They swim, and live on fish. At that place the ships suffered a very great storm, during which the three holy bodies appeared to us many times, that is to say, St. Elmo, St. Nicholas, and St. Clara, whereupon the storm quickly ceased.

Leaving that place, we finally reached 49 and one-half degrees toward the Antarctic Pole. As it was winter, the ships entered a safe port to winter.[86] We passed two months in that place without seeing anyone. One day we suddenly saw a naked man of giant stature on the shore of the port, dancing,[87] singing, and throwing dust on his head. The captain-general sent one of our men to the giant so that he might perform the same actions as a sign of peace. Having done that, the man led the giant to an islet into the presence of the captain-general. When the giant was in the captain-general's and our presence, he marveled greatly,[88] and made signs with one finger raised upward, believing that we had come from the sky. He was so tall that we reached only to his waist, and he was well proportioned. His face was large and painted red all over, while about his eyes he was painted yellow; and he had two hearts painted on the middle of his cheeks. His scanty hair was painted white.[89] He was dressed in the skins of animals skilfully sewn together. That animal has a head and ears as large as those of a

gambe de ceruo et La coda de caualo et nitri//e como lui ge ne /onno a/aysimi in que/ta tera haueua a li piedi albarghe de le mede/me pelle q̃ copreno li piedi a vzo de /carpe et nella mano vno archo curto et gro//o. La corda alquando piu gro//a di q^{e}lle deL lauto fata de le budelle deL medemo animale cõ vno mazo de frece de canna non molto longue inpenade como le no/tre p̱ fore põte de pietra de fuoca biancha et negra amodo de freze turque/que facendole cõ vn alt^{a} pietra. Lo cap^{o} genneralle li fece dare da mangiare et bere et fra le altre co/e q̃ li mo/trete li mo/tro vno /pequio grande de azalle. quando eL vide /ua figura grandamente /e /pauento et /alto in drieto et buto tre o quat^{o} de li no/t^{i} homini p̱ terra da poy li dete Suonagli vno /pequio vno petine et certi pater no/t^{i} et mando lo in tera cõ 4 homini armati Vno /uo compagnio q̃ may vol/e venire a le naue quando eL vite venire co/tui cõ li no/t^{i} cor/e doue /tauano li alt^{i} Se mi//eno in fila tuti nudi ariuando li no/t^{i} a e//i comen/orono abalare et cantare leuando vno dito aL ciello et mo/trandoli poluere bianca de radice de erba po/ta in pigniate de tera q̃ la mangia//eno p̱che non haueuano altra co/a li no/t^{i} li feceno /egnio doue//eno vegnire a le naui et que li ajuterebenno portare le /ue robe p̱ il que Que/ti homini subito pigliorono Solamente li /ui archi et le /ue femine cargate como asine portorono il tuto. que/te nõ /onno tanti grandi ma molto piu gro//e quando le

mule, a neck and body like those of a camel, the legs of a deer, and the tail of a horse, like which it neighs, and that land has very many of them.[90] His feet were shod with the same kind of skins which covered his feet in the manner of shoes.[91] In his hand he carried a short, heavy bow, with a cord somewhat thicker than those of the lute,[92] and made from the intestines of the same animal, and a bundle of rather short cane arrows feathered like ours, and with points of white and black flint stones in the manner of Turkish arrows, instead of iron. Those points were fashioned by means of another stone.[93] The captain-general had the giant given something to eat and drink, and among other things which were shown to him was a large steel mirror. When he saw his face, he was greatly terrified, and jumped back throwing three or four[94] of our men to the ground. After that he was given some bells, a mirror, a comb, and certain Pater Nosters. The captain-general sent him ashore with 4 armed men. When one of his companions, who would never come to the ships, saw him coming with our men, he ran to the place where the others were, who came [down to the shore] all naked one after the other. When our men reached them, they began to dance and to sing, lifting one finger to the sky. They showed our men some white powder made from the roots of an herb, which they kept in earthen pots, and which they ate because they had nothing else. Our men made signs inviting them to the ships, and that they would help them carry their possessions. Thereupon, those men quickly took only their bows, while their women laden like asses carried everything. The latter are

vede//imo grandamẽte /te//emo /tupefati anno le tete longue mozo brazo. /onno depinte et ve/tite como loro mariti /inon dinanzi a la natura anno vna pele//ina q̃ la copre menavano quat° de q3/ti animali picoli ligadi cõ ligami amodo de caueza. Que/ta gente quanto voleno pigliare de que/ti animale ligano vno de que/ti picoli a vno /pino poi veneno li grandi ꝑ Jocare cõ li picoli et e//i /tando a/con/i li amazano cõ Le freze. li no/tⁱ ne candu//ero a le naui dizidoto tra homini et femine et foreno repartiti de due parte deL porto açio piglia//eno de li dicti animalj.

Deli a 6. Jorni fu vi/to vno gigante depinto et ve/tito de la medi/ima /orta de alguni q̃ faceuano legnia haueua in mano vno archo et freze aco-/tando/e a li no/tⁱ pⁱma /e tocaua eL capo eL volto et eL corpo et iL /imile faceua ali no/tⁱ et dapoy leuaua li mani aL ciello. Quando eL capº gñale Lo /epe. Lo mando atore cõ Lo/quifo et menolo in qᵉlla Jzola che era neL porto doue haueuano facta vna ca/a ꝑ li fabri et ꝑ meter li alcune co/e de le naue. co/tui era piu grande et meglio di/po/ti de li altⁱ et tanto trata bile et gratio/o. /altando balaua et quando balaua ogni volta cazaua li piedi Soto tera vno palmo. Stete molti giorni cõ nui tanto qᵉL bati/a//emo chiamandolo Johannj cos chiaro prenuntiaua Je/u pater no/ter aue maria et Jouani

not so tall as the men but are very much fatter. When we saw them we were greatly surprised. Their breasts are one-half braza long, and they are painted and clothed like their husbands, except that before their privies [*natura*] they have a small skin which covers them. They led four of those young animals, fastened with thongs like a halter. When those people wish to catch some of those animals, they tie one of these young ones to a thornbush. Thereupon, the large ones come to play with the little ones; and those people kill them with their arrows from their place of concealment. Our men led eighteen of those people, counting men and women, to the ships, and they were distributed on the two sides of the port so that they might catch some of the said animals.

Six days after the above, a giant painted [95] and clothed in the same manner was seen by some [of our men] who were cutting wood. He had a bow and arrows in his hand. When our men approached him, he first touched his head, face,[96] and body, and then did the same to our men, afterward lifting his hands toward the sky. When the captain-general was informed of it, he ordered him to be brought in the small boat. He was taken to that island in the port where our men had built a house for the smiths [97] and for the storage of some things from the ships. That man was even taller and better built than the others and as tractable and amiable. Jumping up and down, he danced, and when he danced, at every leap, his feet sank a palmo into the earth. He remained with us for a considerable number of days, so long that we baptized him, calling him Johanni.

como nui /e non cõ voce groci//ima. poi eL cap° gñale li dono vna camiza vna cami/ota de panno brague//e di pano vn bonet vn /pequio vno petine /onagli et altre co/e et mandolo da li sui ge li ando molto alegro et cõtento eL giorno /eguente co/tui porto vno de quelli animali grandi aL cap° gñale ꝑ il que li dete molte co/e acio ne porta//e de li altⁱ ma piu noL vede/emo pen/a/emo li Suoi lo haue//ero amazato ꝑ haueř conuer/ato cõ nuy.

Pa//ati 15 giorni vede//emo quat° de que/ti giganti /enza le /ue arme ꝑ che le aueuano a/co//e in certi /pini poi li dui che piglia//emo ne li in/egniaro ogni vno era depinto diferentiatamente JL cap° genneralle retenne duy li piu Joueni et piu di/po/ti cõ grande a/tutia ꝑ condurli in /pagnia Se altª mente haue//e facto facilmente hauerebenno morto alguni de nui. La stutia q̃ vzo in retenerli fo que/ta ge dete molti cortelli forfice /peqⁱ /onagli et chri/talino hauendo que/ti dui li mani pienne de le detti co/e iL cap° gñale fece portare dui para de feri q̃ /e meteno a li piedi mo/trando de donnarli et elli ꝑ e//ere fero li piaceuão molto ma non /apeuano Como portarli et li rincre/ceua la/sarli nõ haueuano oue meteř qᶜlle merce; et be/ogniauali tenerli cõ le mani la pelle q̃ haueuão intorno li altⁱ duy voleuano ajutarli ma iL cap° nõ vol/e vedendo q̃ li rincre/ci-

He uttered [the words] "*Jesu*," "*Pater Noster*," "*Ave Maria*" and "*Jovani*" [*i.e.*, John[7] as distinctly as we, but with an exceedingly loud voice. Then the captain-general gave him a shirt, a woolen jerkin [*camisota de panno*], cloth breeches, a cap, a mirror, a comb, bells, and other things, and sent him away like his companions. He left us very joyous and happy. The following day he brought one of those large animals to the captain-general, in return for which many things were given to him, so that he might bring some more to us; but we did not see him again. We thought that his companions had killed him because he had conversed with us.

A fortnight later we saw four of those giants without their arms for they had hidden them in certain bushes as the two whom we captured showed us. Each one was painted differently. The captain-general kept two of them – the youngest and best proportioned – by means of a very cunning trick, in order to take them to Spagnia.[98] Had he used any other means [than those he employed], they could easily have killed some of us.[99] The trick that he employed in keeping them was as follows. He gave them many knives, scissors, mirrors, bells, and glass beads; and those two having their hands filled with the said articles, the captain-general had two pairs of iron manacles brought, such as are fastened on the feet.[100] He made motions that he would give them to the giants, whereat they were very pleased since those manacles were of iron, but they did not know how to carry them. They were grieved at leaving them behind, but they had no place to put those gifts; for they had to hold the skin wrapped

ua la/siare q^{e}lli feri li fece /egnio li farebe ali piedi et queli portarebenno via e//i ri/po/ero cõ la te/ta de /i Subito aduno mede/imo tempo li fece metere a tucti dui et quando linquiauão cõ lo fero q̃ trauer/a dubitauano ma /igurandoli iL cap^{o} pur /teteno fermi a vedendo/e poi de lingano Sbufauano como tori quiamando fortemente setebos q̃ li ajuta//e agli alt^{i} dui apena pote/imo ligarli li mani li manda//emo a terra cõ noue homine açio guida//eno li no/t^{i} doue /taua La moglie de vno de q^{e}lli haueuano pre/i perche fortemẽte cõ /egni la lamentaua açio ella intende//emo. Andando vno /e de/ligo li mani et cor/e via cõ tanta velocita q̃ li nr̃i lo per/eno de vi/ta ando doue /taua La /ua brigata et nõ trouo vno de li /oi q̃ era rima/to cõ le femine p̃ che era andato a la caza /ubito lo ando atrouare et contoli tuto eL fatto Lalt^{o} tanto /e /for/aua p̃ de/ligar/e q̃ li no/t^{i} lo ferirono vn pocho /op^{a} la te/ta et sbufando conduce li nr̃i doue /tauão le loro donne. gioan cauagio piloto capo de que/ti nõ vol/e tore la donna q^{e}lla /era ma dormite yui p̃ che se faceua nocte li alt^{i} duy veneno et vedendo co/tui ferito se dubitauão et nõ di/ero niente alhora ma ne lalba parloro a

about them with their hands.[101] The other two giants wished to help them, but the captain refused. Seeing that they were loth to leave those manacles behind, the captain made them a sign that he would put them on their feet, and that they could carry them away. They nodded assent with the head. Immediately, the captain had the manacles put on both of them at the same time. When our men were driving home the cross bolt, the giants began to suspect something, but the captain assuring them, however, they stood still. When they saw later that they were tricked, they raged like bulls, calling loudly for *Setebos*[102] to aid them. With difficulty could we bind the hands of the other two, whom we sent ashore with nine of our men, in order that the giants might guide them to the place where the wife of one of the two whom we had captured[103] was; for the latter expressed his great grief at leaving her by signs so that we understood [that he meant] her. While they were on their way, one of the giants freed his hands, and took to his heels with such swiftness that our men lost sight of him. He went to the place where his associates were, but he did not find [there] one of his companions, who had remained behind with the women, and who had gone hunting. He immediately went in search of the latter, and told him all that had happened.[104] The other giant endeavored so hard to free himself from his bonds, that our men struck him, wounding him slightly on the head, whereat he raging led them to where the women were. Gioan Cavagio, the pilot and commander of those men, refused to bring back the woman[105] that night, but determined to sleep there,

le donne /ubito fugiteno via et coreuão piu li picoli q̃ li grandi lassando tute le sue robe dui /e tra//eno da parte tirã do ali nr̃i frece. lalt° menaua via q^{e}lli /oi animaleti p̱ cazare et co/i cõba tendo vno de q^{e}lli pa//o la co//a cõ vna freza a vno deli nr̃i il q^{a}lle /ubito mori quando vi/teno que/to /ubito cor/eno via li nr̃i haueuano /quiopeti et bale/tre et may nõ li poterono ferire quando que/ti combateuão may /tauano fermi ma /altando de qua et della. li no/t^{i} /e pelirono Lo morto et bra/arono tute le robe q̃ haueuano la//ata Certamente que/ti giganti Coreno piu Cauali et Sonno gelo/i//imi de loro mogliere.

Quando que/ta gente /e sente malle aL /tomacho in loco de purgar/e se metẽo nela golla dui palmi et piu duna firza et gomitano coloro ỹde mi/quiade cõ /angue p̱q̃ mangiano certi cardi Quando li dole eL capo Se danno neL fronte vna tagiatura neL trauer/o et cu//i nele brace ne le gambe et in cia/-cuno locho deL corpo cauando//e molta /angue. vno de q^{e}lli hauiuão pre /i q̃ /taua nela nr̃a naue diceua como q^{e}L /angue nõ voleua /tare iui et p̱ q^{e}llo li daua pa//ione anno li capeli tagliati cõ la quie-rega amodo de frati ma piu longui cõ vno cordonne

for night was approaching. The other two giants came, and seeing their companion wounded, hesitated,[106] but said nothing then. But with the dawn, they spoke [107] to the women, [whereupon] they immediately ran away (and the smaller ones ran faster than the taller), leaving all their possessions behind them. Two of them turned aside to shoot their arrows at our men. The other was leading away those small animals of theirs in order to hunt.[108] Thus fighting, one of them pierced the thigh of one of our men with an arrow, and the latter died immediately. When the giants saw that, they ran away quickly. Our men had muskets and crossbows, but they could never hit any of the giants, [for] when the latter fought, they never stood still, but leaped hither and thither. Our men buried their dead companion, and burned all the possessions left behind by the giants. Of a truth those giants run swifter than horses and are exceedingly jealous of their wives.

When those people feel sick at the stomach, instead of purging themselves,[109] they thrust an arrow down their throat for two palmos or more [110] and vomit [substance of a] green color mixed with blood, for they eat a certain kind of thistle. When they have a headache, they cut themselves across the forehead; and they do the same on the arms or on the legs and in any part of the body, letting a quantity of blood. One of those whom we had captured, and whom we kept in our ship, said that the blood refused to stay there [*i.e.*, in the place of the pain], and consequently causes them suffering. They wear their hair cut with the tonsure, like friars, but it is

di bambaso intorno lo capo neL q^{a}lle ficano le freze quando vano ala caza ligano eL Suo membro dentro deL corpo ꝑ lo grandi/simo fredo. Quando more vno de que/ti apareno x ho dudice demonj balando molto alegri in torno deL morto tucti depinti ne vedeno vno /oura altri asay piu grande gridando et facendo piu grã fe/ta cosi como eL demonio li apare de pinto de q^{e}lla Sorte /e depingeno quiamano eL demonio magior /etebos ali alt^{i} cheleulle anchora co/tui ne di//e cõ /egni hauere vi/to li demonj con dui corni in te/ta et peli longui q̃ copriuano li piedi getare focho ꝑ La boca et ꝑ iL culo JL cap^{o} gñale nomino que/ti populi patagoni tutti /e ve/tino de la pelle de q^{e}llo animale gia deto nõ anno case /enon trabacque de la pelle deL mede/imo animale et cõ q^{e}lli vano mo di qua mo di la como fanno li cingani viueno de carne cruda et de vna radice dolce q̃ la quiamão chapae ogni vno de li dui q̃ piglia//emo mangiaua vna /porta de bi/coto et beueua in vna fiata mezo /echio de hacqua et mangiauão li /orgi /enza /corti carli.

Ste//emo in que/to porto el q^{a}L chiama//emo porto de s^{to}. Julianno cirqua de cinque mesi doue acadetenno molte co/e. Açio q̃ vr̃a IlL^{ma}. s^{a} ne /apia algune fu q̃ /ubito entrati neL porto li capitani de le altre quat^{o} naue ordinorono vno tradimẽto ꝑ amazare iL cap^{o} genneralle et que/ti erano eL vehadore

left longer;[111] and they have a cotton cord wrapped about the head, to which they fasten their arrows when they go hunting. They bind their privies close to their bodies because of the exceeding great cold.[112] When one of those people die, x or twelve demons all painted appear to them and dance very joyfully about the corpse. They notice that one of those demons is much taller than the others, and he cries out and rejoices more.[113] They paint themselves exactly in the same manner as the demon appears to them painted. They call the larger demon Setebos,[114] and the others Cheleulle. That giant also told us by signs that he had seen the demons with two horns on their heads, and long hair which hung to the feet belching forth fire from mouth and buttocks. The captain-general called those people Patagoni.[115] They all clothe themselves in the skins of that animal above mentioned; and they have no houses except those made from the skin of the same animal, and they wander hither and thither with those houses just as the Cingani [116] do. They live on raw flesh and on a sweet root which they call chapae.[117] Each of the two whom we captured ate a basketful of biscuit, and drank one-half pailful of water at a gulp. They also ate rats without skinning them.

In that port which we called the port of Santo Julianno, we remained about five months.[118] Many things happened there. In order that your most illustrious Lordship may know some of them, it happened that as soon as we had entered the port, the captains of the other four ships plotted treason in order that they might kill the captain-general. Those conspirators consisted of the overseer of the

de Larmata q̃ /e chiamaua Johan de cartegena eL the/orero alouise de mendo/a eL contadore anthonio cocha et ga/par de cazada et /quartato eL veador de li homini fo amazato lo the/or3 apognialade e/endo de/coperto Lo tradimento de li alquantj giornj ga/par de ca/ada p̃ voler fare vno alt° tradimẽto fo /bandito cõ vno prete in que/ta tera patagonia. eL Cap° generale nõ vol/e far lo amazare perche Lo imperatoř don carlo lo haueua facto cap° Vna naue chiamata /ancto Jacobo p̃ andare a de/courire la co/ta Se per/e tucti li homini Si /aluarono p̃ miracolo nõ bagniando//e apenna dui de que/ti venirono ali naui et ne di/cero el tuto p̃ il que eL cap° gñale ge mando alguni homini cõ /acq^{i} pienny de bi/coto p̃ dui me/i ne fu for/a portarli eL viuere p̃ che ogni giorno trouauano q^{a}lque co/a de la naue eL viagio ad andare era longuo 24 legue q̃ /onno cento millia la via a/pri//ima et pienna de /pini /tauano 4 giorni in viagio le nocte dormiuano in machioni nõ trouauano hacqua da beuere /enon giaçio il que ne era grandisima fatiga. Jn que/to porto era a/ay//ime cape Longue q̃ le chiamano missiglioni haueuano perle neL mezo ma picole q̃ non le poteuano mangiare ancho /e trouaua Jn/en/o /truzi volpe pa//are et conigli piu picoli a//ay de li no/tri Qui in cima deL piu alto monte driza//emo vna croce in /igno de que/ta terra, q̃ erra deL re de /pagnia et chiama//emo que/to monte monte de x°.

fleet, one Johan de Cartagena, the treasurer, Alouise de Mendosa, the accountant, Anthonio Cocha, and Gaspar de Cazada. The overseer of the men having been quartered, the treasurer was killed by dagger blows, for the treason was discovered. Some days after that, Gaspar de Casada, was banished with a priest in that land of Patagonia. The captain-general did not wish to have him killed, because the emperor, Don Carlo, had appointed him captain.[119] A ship called "Sancto Jacobo" was wrecked in an expedition made to explore the coast. All the men were saved as by a miracle, not even getting wet. Two of them came to the ships after suffering great hardships, and reported the whole occurrence to us. Consequently, the captain-general sent some men with bags full of biscuits [sufficient to last] for two months. It was necessary for us to carry them the food, for daily pieces of the ship [that was wrecked] were found. The way thither was long, [being] 24 leguas,[120] or one hundred millas, and the path was very rough and full of thorns. The men were 4 days on the road, sleeping at night in the bushes. They found no drinking water, but only ice, which caused them the greatest hardship.[121] There were very many long shellfish which are called *missiglioni*[122] in that port [of Santo Julianno]. They have pearls, although small ones in the middle, but could not be eaten. Incense, ostriches,[123] foxes, sparrows, and rabbits much smaller than ours were also found. We erected a cross on the top of the highest summit there, as a sign in that land that it belonged to the king of Spagnia; and we called that summit Monte de Christo [*i.e.*, Mount of Christ].

Partendone de qui in 51 grado mancho vno ter/o al antartico troua/emo vno fiome de hacqua dolce nel q[a]lle le naui quasi p/enno p li venti teri bili ma dio et li corpi /ancti le ajutarono Jn Que/to fiume tarda//emo circa duy me/i p fornirne de hacqua legnia et pe/cie longho vno bra/o et piu cõ /quame. era molto bonno ma pocho et inan/i /e parti//emo de qui eL cap° genneralle et tuti nuy Se confe//asemo et Comunica/semo Como veri chri/tianni.

Poi andando a cinquanta dui gradi aL mede/imo polo troua//emo neL giorno delle vndici millia vergine vno /treto eL capo deL q[a]lle chiamão capo dele vndici millia vergine p grandi/simo miracolo Que/to /treto e longo cento et diece legue q̃ /onno 440 millia et largo piu et mancho de meza legua q̃ va a referire in vno alt° mare chiamato mar pacificho circundato da mõtagnie alti//ime caricate de neue nõ li poteuamo tro uare fondo /inon con lo proi/e in tera in 25 et 30 braza et /e non era eL capitanio gennerale nõ trouauamo Que/to /trecto perch̃ tuti pen/auamo et diceuamo como era /erato tuto intorno. ma iL capitano gñale q̃ /apeua de douer fare la /ua nauigatiõe p vno /treto molto a/co/o como vite nela the/oraria deL re de portugaL in vna carta fata p q[e]lla exelenti//imo huomo martin de boemia Mando due naui S[to]. anthonio et la conceptiõe q̃ co//i le quiamauano auedere q̃ era neL capo de la baia noi cõ le altre due naue la capitania Se chiamaua trinitade Laltra la victoria /te//emo ad

Leaving that place, we found, in 51 degrees less one-third [124] degree, toward the Antarctic Pole, a river of fresh water. There the ships almost perished because of the furious winds; but God and the holy bodies [125] aided them. We stayed about two months in that river in order to supply the ships with water, wood, and fish, [the latter being] one braccio in length and more, and covered with scales. They were very good although small.[126] Before leaving that river, the captain-general and all of us confessed and received communion as true Christians.[127]

Then going to fifty-two degrees toward the same pole,[128] we found a strait on the day of the [feast of the] [129] eleven thousand virgins [*i.e.*, October 21], whose head is called Capo de le Undici Millia Vergine [*i.e.*, cape of the Eleven Thousand Virgins] because of that very great miracle. That strait is one hundred and ten leguas or 440 millas long, and it is one-half legua broad, more or less.[130] It leads to another sea called the Pacific Sea, and is surrounded by very lofty mountains laden with snow. There it was impossible to find bottom [for anchoring], but [it was necessary to fasten] the moorings [131] on land 25 or 30 brazas away. Had it not been for the captain-general, we would not have found that strait, for we all thought and said that it was closed on all sides. But the captain-general who knew where to sail to find a well-hidden strait, which he saw depicted on a map in the treasury of the king of Portugal, which was made by that excellent man, Martin de Boemia, sent two ships, the "Santo Anthonio" and the "Conceptione" (for thus they were called), to discover what was inside the cape de la

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a/pectarle dentº ne la baya La nocte ne souravenne vna grande fortuna q̃ duro fino al altº mezo Jorno p̃ il que ne fu forza leuare lanchore et la/siare andare de qua et dela per la baia a le altre due naui li era trauer/ia et nõ poteuão caualcare vno capo q̃ faceua la baya qua/i in fine p̃ voler venir̃ a noi /i que li era for/a adare in /eco pur aco/tando/e aL fine de La baya pen/ando de e//ere per/i viteno vna boca picola q̃ no [pa/aua: *crossed out in original MS.*] pariua boca ma vno Cantone et como abandonadi /e cazaronno dentro /i que perforza di/co per/eno el /treto et vedendo q̃ nõ era cantone ma vno /treto de tera andarono piu inanzi et trouoro no vna baya. poi andando piu oltra trouorono vno altº /tretto et vnaltª baya piu grande q̃ le due pⁱme molto alegri subito voltor̃o Jndrieto p̃ dirlo aL capitanio gñale noi pen/auamo fo//eno per/e prima p̃ La fortuna grande. Laltª perche eranno pa//ati dui giorni et nõ aparauão et ancho per certi fumi q̃ faceuano duy deli /ui mandati in tera p̃ aui/arne et co/i /tando /u/pe/i vedemo venire due naui cõ le velle pienne et cõ le bã dere /piegate ver/o de noi. e//endo co/i vicine subito /caricorono molte bom barde et gridi poy tuti in/ieme rengratiando ydio et la vergine maria anda /emo acercare piu inanzi.

Baia [*i.e.*, of the Bay].[132] We, with the other two ships, [namely], the flagship, called "Trinitade," and the other the "Victoria," stayed inside the bay to await them.[133] A great storm struck us that night, which lasted until the middle of next day, which necessitated our lifting anchor, and letting ourselves drift hither and thither about the bay. The other two ships suffered a headwind and could not double a cape [134] formed by the bay almost at its end, as they were trying to return to join us; so that they thought that they would have to run aground. But on approaching the end of the bay, and thinking that they were lost, they saw a small opening which did not [exceed: *crossed out in original MS.*] appear to be an opening, but a sharp turn [*cantone*].[135] Like desperate men they hauled into it, and thus they discovered the strait by chance. Seeing that it was not a sharp turn, but a strait with land, they proceeded farther, and found a bay.[136] And then farther on they found another strait and another bay larger than the first two.[137] Very joyful they immediately turned back to inform the captain-general. We thought that they had been wrecked, first, by reason of the violent storm, and second, because two days had passed and they had not appeared, and also because of certain [signals with] smoke made by two of their men who had been sent ashore to advise us.[138] And so, while in suspense, we saw the two ships with sails full and banners flying to the wind, coming toward us. When they neared us in this manner, they suddenly discharged a number of mortars, and burst into cheers.[139] Then all together thanking God and the Virgin Mary, we went to seek [the strait] farther on.

Essendo entrati in que/to /treto troua//emo due bocque vna aL Siroco laltra aL garbino iL capitanio gñale mando la naue /ancto anthonio insieme cõ la concitione ꝑ vedere /e qᵉlla boca q̃ era ỽ/o /irocho haueua exito neL mare pacifico la naue /ancto anthonio noL vol/e a/pectare la conceptiõe ꝑ q̃ voleua fugire ꝑ retornare in Spagnia como fece iL piloto de que/ta naue Se chiamaua /tefan gomes Loqᵃlle hodiaua molto lo Capº gennerale ꝑq̃ inanzi Se face//e que/ta armata co/tui era andato da Lo imperatoꝛ̃ ꝑ far/e dare algune carauele ꝑ di/courire terra ma ꝑ la venuta deL Capº gennerale /ua mage/ta nõ le li dete ꝑ que/to /e acordo cõ certi /pagniolli et nella nocte /eguente pigliarono lo capº de la /ua naue el qᵃlle era germano deL capº gñale et haueua nome aluaro de me/chita Lo ferirono et Lo me//eno in feri et co/i lo condu//ero in spagnia in que/to naue. era laltº gigante q̃ haueuamo prezo ma quanto entro neL caldo morse. La Conceptiõe ꝑ nõ potere /eguire que/ta La a/pectaua andando fugi ꝑ lo mede/imo [porto: *crossed out in original* diqua et dela stº. antº a la nocte torno indrieto et /e *MS.*] /trecto nuy eramo andati a de/courire laltª bocha ver/o eL garbin trouando pur ogni hora eL mede/imo [porto: *crossed out in original MS.*] /treto ariua//emo a vno fiume qᵉL chiama//emo eL fiume delle /ardine ꝑche apre//o de que/to ne eranno molte et co/i quiuy tarda//emo quatro Jorni ꝑ a/pectare le due naue in que/ti giorni mãda/emo

After entering that strait, we found two openings, one to the southeast, and the other to the southwest.[140] The captain-general sent the ship "Sancto Anthonio" together with the "Concitione" to ascertain whether that opening which was toward the southeast had an exit into the Pacific Sea. The ship "Sancto Anthonio" would not await the "Conceptione," because it intended to flee and return to Spagnia – which it did. The pilot of that ship was one Stefan Gomes,[141] and he hated the captain-general exceedingly, because before that fleet was fitted out, the emperor had ordered that he be given some caravels with which to discover lands, but his Majesty did not give them to him because of the coming of the captain-general. On that account he conspired with certain Spaniards, and next night they captured the captain of their ship, a cousin[142] of the captain-general, one Alvaro de Meschita, whom they wounded and put in irons, and in this condition took to Spagnia. The other giant whom we had captured was in that ship, but he died when the heat came on. The "Conceptione," as it could not follow that ship, waited for it, sailing about hither and thither. The "Sancto Anthonio" turned back at night and fled along the same [port: *crossed out in original MS.*] strait.[143] We had gone to explore the other opening toward the southwest. Finding, however, the same [port: *crossed out in original MS.*] strait continuously, we came upon a river which we called the river of Sardine [*i.e.*, Sardines], because there were many sardines near it.[144] So we stayed there for four days in order to await the two ships. During that period we sent a well-equipped boat to explore the

vno batello ben fornito ꝑ de/coprire eL capo de laltº mare venne in termi ne de tre Jorni et di//ero como haueuano [haueuano: *doublet in original MS.*] veduto eL capo et eL mare amplo eL capitanio gennerale lagrimo ꝑ allegreza et nomino qᵉL capo Capo dezeado perche laueuano Ja grã tempo di/iderato. Torna/emo indrieto ꝑ sercar le due naue et nõ troua//emo /inõ la conceptiõe et domandandoli doue era laltª. ri/po/e Johan /eranno q̃ era capº et piloto de que/ta et ancho de qᵉlla q̃ /e per/e q̃ nõ /apeua et q̃ may nõ Laueua veduta dapoy que ella entro ne la boca la Cerca//emo ꝑ tuto lo /treto fin in qᵉlla boca doue ella fugite. il capº gennerale mando indrieto la naue victoria fina aL principio deL /treto auedere /e ella era iui et non trouandola mete//e vna bandera in cima de alguno mõticello cõ vna letera in vna pigniatella ficada in tera apre//o la bandera acio vedendola troua//eno la lr̃a et /apa//eno lo viagio q̃ faceuamo ꝑ che cu//i era dato le ordine fra noi Quando /e /mariuamo le naue vna de laltª. /e mi//e due bandere cõ le lr̃e luna avno mõticello nela prima baya laltª in vna Jzoleta nella terza baya doue eranno molti Loui marini et vcceli grandi. JL capº gñale le/peto cõ laltª naue apre//o eL fiume Jsleo et fece metere vna croce in vna Jzoleta zirca de que/to fiume eL qªlle era fra alte montagnie caricate de neue et de/cendeneL mare apre//o Lo fiume de le /ardine. Se nõ trouauamo que/to /treto eL capº. gñale haueua deliberato andare fino a /etanta cinq3 gradi aL polo artãticho [*sic*] doue in taL altura aL

cape of the other sea. The men returned within three days, and reported that they had seen the cape and the open sea. The captain-general wept for joy, and called that cape, Cape Dezeado [*i.e.*, Desire],[145] for we had been desiring it for a long time. We turned back to look for the two ships,[146] but we found only the "Conceptione." Upon asking them where the other one was, Johan Seranno,[147] who was captain and pilot of the former ship (and also of that ship that had been wrecked) replied that he did not know, and that he had never seen it after it had entered the opening. We sought it in all parts of the strait, as far as that opening whence it had fled, and the captain-general sent the ship "Victoria" back to the entrance of the strait to ascertain whether the ship was there. Orders were given them, if they did not find it, to plant a banner on the summit of some small hill with a letter in an earthen pot buried in the earth near the banner, so that if the banner were seen the letter might be found, and the ship might learn the course that we were sailing. For this was the arrangement made between us in case that we went astray one from the other.[148] Two banners were planted with their letters – one on a little eminence in the first bay, and the other in an islet in the third bay[149] where there were many sea-wolves and large birds. The captain-general waited for the ship with his other ship near he river of Isleo,[150] and he had a cross set up in an islet near that river, which flowed between high mountains covered with snow and emptied into the sea near the river of Sardine. Had we not discovered that strait, the captain-general had determined to go as far as sev-

tempo de la e/tate nõ ge e nocte et /e glie ne he poche et co//i neL inuerno Jorno. açio q̃ vr̃a IlL^{ma}. s^{a} iL creda quando eramo in que/to /trecto le nocte eranno /olamẽte de tre hore et era neL me/e doctob^{r} La terra de que/to /trecto amã mancha era voltata aL /iroco et era ba//a chiama//emo aque/to /treto eL /treto patagoni cho ĩ Lo q^{a}L /e troua ogni meza lega Seguri//imi porti hacque exelenti//ime Legnia /inon di cedro pe/chie /ardine mi//iglioni et appio erba dolce ma gene anche de amare na/ce atorno le fontane del q^{a}lle mangia//imo a//ay Jorni p̃ nõ haue^{r} alt^{o} credo nõ /ia aL mondo el piu bello et meglio^{r} /treto como eque/to. Jn que/to mar occeanno Se vede vna molto delecteuoL caza de pe/ci /onno tre /orte de pe//i Longui vno brazo et piu q̃ /e chiamano doradi, albacore et bonniti, li q^{a}lli /equitano pe/ci q̃ volanno chiamattj colondrini Longui vno palmo et piu et /onno obtini aL mangiare. Quando q^{e}lle tre /orte trouão alguni de que/ti volanti Subito li volanti /altanno fora de lacqua et volano fin q̃ anno le alle bagniate piu de vno trar de bale/tra in tanto q̃ que/ti volano li alt^{i} li corenno indrieto /octa hacqua a La /ua ombra nõ /onno cu//i pre/to ca/cati ne lacqua q̃ que/ti /ubito li piglianno et mangiano co/a in vero beli//ima de vedere.

enty-five degrees toward the Antarctic Pole. There in that latitude, during the summer season, there is no night, or if there is any night it is but short, and so in the winter with the day. In order that your most illustrious Lordship may believe it, when we were in that strait, the nights were only three hours long, and it was then the month of October.[151] The land on the left-hand side of that strait turned toward the southeast[152] and was low. We called that strait the strait of Patagonia. One finds the safest of ports every half legua in it,[153] water, the finest of wood (but not of cedar), fish, sardines, and missiglioni, while smallage,[154] a sweet herb (although there is also some that is bitter) grows around the springs. We ate of it for many days as we had nothing else. I believe that there is not a more beautiful or better strait in the world than that one.[155] In that Ocean Sea one sees a very amusing fish hunt. The fish [that hunt] are of three sorts, and are one braza and more in length, and are called dorado, albicore, and bonito.[156] Those fish follow the flying fish called colondrini,[157] which are one palmo and more[158] in length and very good to eat. When the above three kinds [of fish] find any of those flying fish, the latter immediately leap from the water and fly as long as their wings are wet – more than a cross-bow's flight. While they are flying, the others run along back of them under the water following the shadow of the flying fish. The latter have no sooner fallen into the water than the others immediately seize and eat them. It is in fine a very amusing thing to watch.

Vocabuli de li giganti pataghoni

AL capo	her.
aL ochio.	other.
AL nazo	or
Alle cillie	occhecheL
ALe palpebre	SechechieL
Ali bussi deL nazo	oresche
ALa boca	xiam
Ali Labri	Schiahame
Ali denti	phor.
ALa linga	SchiaL
AL mento	Sechen
A li pelli	archiz
AL volto	cogecheL
Ala golo	ohumez
ALa copa	Schialeschin
ALe /palle	pelles.
AL gomedo	CoteL
ALa man	chene
ALa palma de Laman	Caimeghin
AL dito	Cori
Ale orechie	Sane
Soto eL broço	Salischin
Ala mamela	othen
AL peto	ochij
AL corpo	gecheL
AL menbro	/achet
Ali te/ticuli	Sacancas
Ala natura de le donne	Jsse
AL vzar cõ e//e	Jo hoi
ALe co//e	chiane
AL genochio	tepin

Words of the Patagonian giants

For Head	her
for Eye	other
for Nose	or
for Eyebrows	occhechel
for Eyelids	sechechiel
for Nostrils	oresche
for Mouth	xiam
for Lips	schiahame
for Teeth	phor
for Tongue	schial
for Chin	sechen
for Hair	archiz
for Face	cogechel
for Throat	ohumez
for Occiput	schialeschin [159]
for Shoulders	pelles
for Elbow	cotel
for Hand	chene
for Palm of the hand	caimeghin
for Finger	cori
for Ears	sane
Armpit	salischin
for Teat	othen
for Bosom	ochij
for Body	gechel
for Penis	sachet
for Testicles	sacancas
for Vagina [160]	isse
for Communication with women	jo hoi
for Thighs	chiane
for Knee	tepin

AL chulo	Schiaguen
Ale culate	hoij
AL brazo	maz
AL polso	holion
A le gambe	coss
AL piede	thee
AL calcagno	tere
ALa chauequie deL pie	perchi
Ala /ola deL pie	caot/cheni
Ale onguie	Colim
AL core	thoL
AL gratare	gechare
Al homo /guerco	Calischen
AL giuane	Calemi
AL hacqua	holi
AL fuoco	ghialeme
AL fumo	giaiche
Al no	ehen
AL si	Rey
AL oro	pelpeli
ALe petre lazure	Secheg
AL solle	Calexcheni
Alle /telle	/ettere.
AL mare	Aro
AL vento	oni
ALa fortuna	ohone
AL pe/se	hoi
AL mangiare	mechiere
ALa /cutella	elo
ALa pigniata	aschanie
AL demandare	ghelhe
Vien qui	hai si
AL gardar	chonne

for Rump	schiaguen
for Buttocks	hoij
for Arm	maz
for Pulse	holion
for Legs	coss
for Foot	thee
for Heel	tere
for Ankle	perchi
for Sole of the foot	caotscheni
for Fingernails	colim
for Heart	thol
for to Scratch	gechare
for Cross-eyed man	calischen
for Young man	calemi
for Water	holi
for Fire	ghialeme
for Smoke	giaiche
for No	ehen
for Yes	rey
for Gold	pelpeli
for Lapis lazuli	secheg
for Sun	calexcheni
for Stars	settere
for Sea	aro
for Wind	oni
for Storm	ohone
for Fish	hoi
for to Eat	mechiere
for Bowl	elo
for Pot	aschanie
for to Ask	ghelhe
Come here	hai si
for to Look	chonne

AL andar	Rey
AL Combater	oamaghce
Ale freze	Sethe
AL Cane	holL
AL lupo	Ani
AL andare longi	Schien
ALa guida	anti
ALa neue	theu
AL courire	hiani
AL Seruzo ucelo	hoihoi
A li sui oui	Jani
Ala poluere derba che mangião	Capac.
AL odorare	os
AL papagalo	cheche
ALa gabiota ucelo	Cleo
AL misiglioni	Siameni.
AL panno ro/so	Terechae.
AL bonet	AicheL
Al colore negº.	AineL
AL ro/so	taiche
AL gialo	peperi
AL coçinare	yrocoles
ALa cintura	Catechin
AL ocha	cache
AL diauolo grande	Setebos
Ali picoli	cheleule.

Tucti que/ti vocabuli /e prenuntiano in gorgha pche cu//i li prenũtiauão Loro.

Me di//e que/ti vocabuli queL gigante q̃ haueuamo nella naue per q̃ domandandome Capac çioe

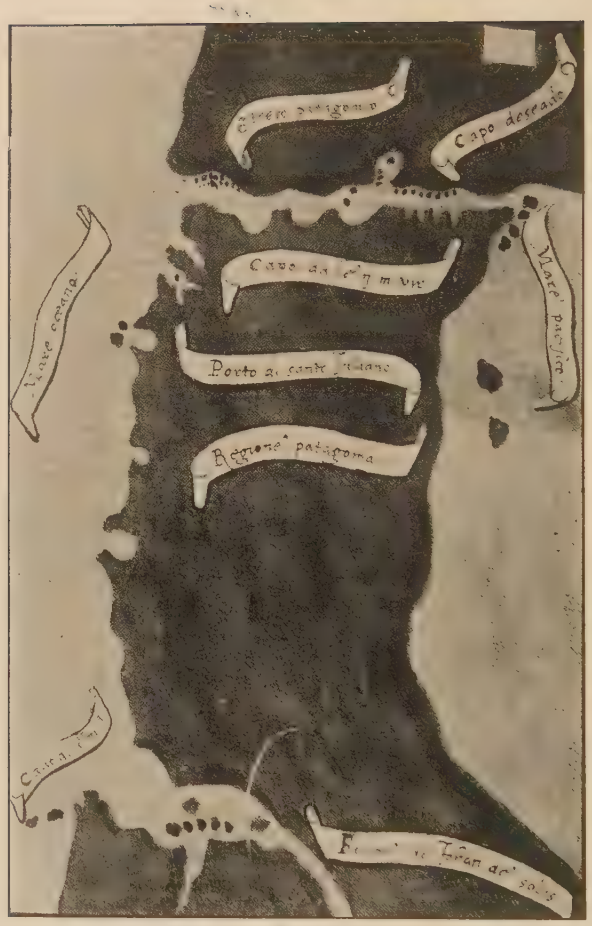
for to Walk	rey
for to Fight	oamaghce
for Arrows	sethe
for Dog	holl
for Wolf	ani
for to Go a long distance	schien
for Guide	anti
for Snow	theu
for to Cover	hiani
for Ostrich, a bird	hoihoi
for its Eggs	jani
for the powder of the herb which they eat	capac
for to Smell	os
for Parrot	cheche
for Birdcage	cleo
for Misiglioni	siameni
for Red Cloth	terechae
for Cap	aichel
for Black	ainel
for Red	taiche
for Yellow	peperi
for to Cook	yrocoles
for Belt	catechin
for Goose	cache
for their big Devil	Setebos
for their small Devils	Cheleule

All the above words are pronounced in the throat, for such is their method of pronunciation.[161]

That giant whom we had in our ship told me those words; for when he, upon asking me for *capac*,[162]

pane che chusi chiamano quela radice q̃ vzanno Loro p̨ panne et oli çioe hacqua Quando eL me vite /criuer que/ti nomi domandandoli poi de li alt^{i} cõ la penna in mano me Jntendeua vna volta feci la croce et la basai mo/trandoglila Subito grido /etebos et fecemi /egno Se piu face//e la croce me intrarebe neL corpo et farebe crepare Quando que/to gigante /taua male domando la croce abra/-sandola et ba/andola molto Se volse far X$\tilde{p}$iano inanzi la /ua morte eL chiama/emo paulo Que/ta gente Quando voleno far fuoco fregano vno legnio pontino cõ vno alt^{o} in fine q̃ fanno Lo fuocho in vna certa medola darbore q̃ fra que/ti dui legni.

Mercore a 28 de nouembre 1520 Ne di/buca/emo da que/to /trecto ingolfandone neL mare pacifico /te//emo tre mesi et vinti Jorni sen/a pigliare refrigerio de co/a alguna mangiauamo bi/coto non piu bi/coto ma poluere de q^{e}llo cõ vermi apugnate p̨ che e//i haueuano mãgiato iL buono puzaua grã damẽte de orina de Sorzi et beueuamo hacqua Jalla gia putrifata per molti giorni et mangiauamo certe pelle de boue q̃ erano /op^{a} Lantena mangiore açio q̃ Lantena nõ rompe//e la /arzia duri//ime p̨ iL Solle piogia et vento Le la/ciauamo p̨ quat^{o} ho cinque giorni neL mare et poi le meteua vno pocho /op^{a} le braze et cosi le mangiauamo et ancora a//ay volte /egature de a/e li sorgi /e vendeuano mezo ducato lo vno et /e pur ne haue//emo potuto haue$\tilde{r}$ ma /oura tute le alt^{i} /quiagu re Que/ta era la


Capo deseado
Mare pacifico
Regione patagona

that is to say, bread, as they call that root which they use as bread, and *oli*, that is to say, water, saw me write those words quickly, and afterward when I, with pen in hand, asked him for other words, he understood me. Once I made the sign of the cross, and, showing it to him, kissed it. He immediately cried out " Setebos," and made me a sign that if I made the sign of the cross again, Setebos would enter into my body and cause it to burst. When that giant was sick, he asked for the cross, and embracing it and kissing it many times, desired to become a Christian before his death. We called him Paulo. When those people wish to make a fire, they rub a sharpened piece of wood against another piece until the fire catches in the pith of a certain tree, which is placed between those two sticks.[163]

Wednesday, November 28, 1520, we debouched from that strait, engulfing ourselves in the Pacific Sea.[164] We were three months and twenty days without getting any kind of fresh food. We ate biscuit, which was no longer biscuit, but powder of biscuits swarming with worms, for they had eaten the good. It stank strongly of the urine of rats.[165] We drank yellow water that had been putrid for many days. We also ate some ox hides that covered the top of the mainyard to prevent the yard from chafing the shrouds, and which had become exceedingly hard because of the sun, rain, and wind.[166] We left them in the sea for four or five days, and then placed them for a few moments on top of the embers, and so ate them; and often we ate sawdust from boards. Rats were sold for one-half ducado apiece, and even then we could not get them.[167] But above all the other

pegiore. Cre/siuano le gengiue ad alguni /op^{a} li denti Cosi de Soto Como de /oura q̃ ꝑ modo alguno nõ poteuamo mãgiare et co//i moriuano ꝑ que/ta infirmita morirono 19. homini et iL gigãte cõ vno Jndio de La terra deL verzin vinti cinque ho trenta homini /e infirmorono q̃ neli brazi neli gambe o in alt^{o} loco /icque poq^{i} re/ta rono /ani ꝑ La gratia de dio yo nõ hebi algunna infirmitade. Jn Que/ti tre me/i et vinti giorni anda/emo circa de quatro millia legue in vn golfo ꝑ que/to mar pacifico in vero he benne pacifico ꝑ q̃ in q3/to tempo nõ haue/semo fortuna Sen/a vedere tera alcuna sinõ due y/olete de/habitate nelle q^{a}L nõ troua//emo alt^{o} /enon vcelli et arbori la chiama//emo y/olle infortunate Sono longi luna da lalt^{a} ducento legue nõ trouauamo fondo apre//o de loro /e nõ vedeuamo molti ti buroni La p^{i}ma Jzolla /ta in quindi/i gradi de latitudine aL hau/tralle, et lalt^{a} in noue ogni Jorno faceuamo cinquanta /esanta et /etanta Legue a La catena ho apopa et /e ydio et /ala /ua madre bennedeta nõ ne daua cosi bõ tempo moriuamo tucti de fame in que/to mare grandi//imo Credo certamẽte nõ /i fara may piu taL viagio.

Quando fu//imi v/citi da que/to /trecto Se haue/-/emo nauigato Sempre aL ponẽte hauere//emo dato vna volta aL mondo /enza trouare terra niuna Se nõ el capo deli xj^{os} vergine che he capo de que/to /trecto aL mare occeanno leuante ponẽte cõ Lo capo de/eado del mare pacifico liq^{a}lli dui capi /tanno in cinquãta duy gradi di latitudine puntualmente aL polo antarticho.

misfortunes the following was the worst. The gums of both the lower and upper teeth of some of our men swelled, so that they could not eat under any circumstances and therefore died.[168] Nineteen men died from that sickness, and the giant together with an Indian from the country of Verzin. Twenty-five or thirty men fell sick [during that time], in the arms, legs, or in another place, so that but few remained well. However, I, by the grace of God, suffered no sickness. We sailed about four thousand leguas during those three months and twenty days through an open stretch in that Pacific Sea.[169] In truth it is very pacific,[170] for during that time we did not suffer any storm. We saw no land except two desert islets, where we found nothing but birds and trees, for which we called them the Ysolle Infortunate [*i.e.*, the Unfortunate Isles]. They are two hundred leguas apart. We found no anchorage, [but] near them saw many sharks.[171] The first islet lies in fifteen degrees of south latitude, and the other in nine. Daily we made runs of fifty, sixty, or seventy leguas at the catena or at the stern.[172] Had not God and His blessed mother given us so good weather we would all have died of hunger in that exceeding vast sea. Of a verity I believe no such voyage will ever be made [again].

When we left that strait, if we had sailed continuously westward we would have circumnavigated the world without finding other land than the cape of the xi thousand Virgins.[173] The latter is a cape of that strait at the Ocean Sea, straight east and west with Cape Deseado of the Pacific Sea. Both of those capes lie in a latitude of exactly fifty-two degrees toward the Antarctic Pole.

JL polo antartico no ne cosi /tellato como Lo artico /e vede molto /telle picolle congregate in-/ieme q̃ fanno in guiza de due nebulle poco /eparate luna de laltª et vno poco ofu/che in mezo de leqªlle /tanno due /telle molto grandi ne molto relucenti et poco /e moueno. Que/te due /telle /onno iL polo antarticho La Calamita no/tra Zauariando vno sempre tiraua aL suo polo artico niente de meno non haueua tanta forza como de la banda Sua. Et pero Quando eramo in Que/to golfo iL Capº generalle domando a tucti li piloti andando /empre a la vela p̃ qªL Camino nauigando pontasemo nele carte ri/po-/ero tucti p̃ la Sua via puntaLmẽte datta li ri/po/i q̃ pontauano falso cosi como era et che conueniua agiutare la guchia deL nauegare p̃ che nõ receueua tanta forza da la parte /ua. Quando eramo in mezo di que/to golpho Vedessemo vna croce de cinque /telle lucidi//ime drito aL ponente, et Suono iu/ti//ime luna cõ laltª.

Jn que/ti giorni mauiga//emo fra iL ponente et iL mae/tralle et a La quarta deL mae/tralle in ver/o ponente et aL mae/tralle fin q̃ ajunge//emo a la linea equinoti alle longi da la linea de la ripartitiõe Cento et vinti dui gradi la linea de la ripartitiõe e trenta gradi longi daL meridionale el meridionale e tre gradi al leuante longi de capo verde Jn que/to Camino pa/a//emo poco longi da due Jzolle richisie vna in vinti gradi de latitudine al polo antarticho q̃ Se chiama Cipangu Laltª in quindici

Isle Infortunate

The Antarctic Pole is not so starry as the Arctic. Many small stars clustered together are seen, which have the appearance of two clouds of mist. There is but little distance between them, and they are somewhat dim. In the midst of them are two large and not very luminous stars, which move only slightly. Those two stars are the Antarctic Pole. Our loadstone, although it moved hither and thither, always pointed toward its own Arctic Pole, although it did not have so much strength as on its own side. And on that account when we were in that open expanse, the captain-general, asking all the pilots whether they were always sailing forward in the course which we had laid down on the maps, all replied: "By your course exactly as laid down." He answered them that they were pointing wrongly – which was a fact – and that it would be fitting to adjust the needle of navigation, for it was not receiving so much force from its side. When we were in the midst of that open expanse, we saw a cross with five extremely bright stars straight toward the west, those stars being exactly placed with regard to one another.[174]

During those days[175] we sailed west northwest, northwest by west, and northwest, until we reached the equinoctial line at the distance of one hundred and twenty-two degrees from the line of demarcation. The line of demarcation is thirty degrees from the meridian, and the meridian is three degrees eastward from Capo Verde.[176] We passed while on that course, a short distance from two exceedingly rich islands, one in twenty degrees of the latitude of the Antarctic Pole, by name Cipangu, and the other in

gradi chiamata Sũbdit pradit pa//ata la linea equinotialle nauiga//emo tra ponente et mai/tralle et a la carta deL ponente ver/o eL mae/tralle poi duzente legue aL ponente mudando eL viag°. a La Quarta in ver/o garbin fin in tredici gradi aL polo articho ꝑ apropinquar/e piu a La tera deL capo de gaticara iL qªL capo cõ perdon de li Co/mo grafi ꝑ q̃ nõ Lo vi/teno nõ /i troua doue loro iL pen/auão ma aL /etentrione in dodeci gradj poco piu o mancho.

Circa de setanta legue a la detta via in dodeci gradi di latitudine et 146 de longitudine Mercore a 6 de mar/o di/copre//emo vna y/ola aL mai/tralle picola et due altᵉ aL garbino vna era piu alta et piu granda de Laltre due iL capº generale voleua firmar/e nella grande ꝑ pigliare qªlque refrigerio ma nõ puote perche la gente de que/ta Jzolla entrauano nele naui et robauano qⁱ vna co/a qⁱ laltª talmente q̃ non poteuamo gardar/i. Voleuano calare le vele acio anda/emo in tera ne roborono lo /quifo q̃ e/taua ligato a La popa de la naue capª cõ grandissª pre/teza ꝑ il que corozato eL capº generalle ando in tera con Quaranta huomini armati et bruzarono da quaranta o cinquanta caze cõ molti barquiti et amazorono /ette huomini et rehebe lo /quifo Subito ne parti /emo /equendo Lo mede/imo camino. Jnanzi q̃ di/monta/emo in tera alguni no/tⁱ infermi ne pregorono /e amazauamo huomo o donna li porta/emo Ly interiori ꝑ che Subito /arebenno /ani.

fifteen degrees, by name Sumbdit Pradit.[177] After we had passed the equinoctial line we sailed west northwest, and west by north, and then for two hundred leguas toward the west, changing our course to west by south until we reached thirteen degrees toward the Arctic Pole in order that we might approach nearer to the land of cape Gaticara. That cape (with the pardon of cosmographers, for they have not seen it), is not found where it is imagined to be, but to the north in twelve degrees or thereabouts.[178]

About seventy[179] leguas on the above course, and lying in twelve degrees of latitude and 146 in longitude, we discovered on Wednesday, March 6, a small island to the northwest, and two others toward the southwest, one of which was higher and larger than the other two. The captain-general wished to stop at the large island and get some fresh food, but he was unable to do so because the inhabitants of that island entered the ships and stole whatever they could lay their hands on, so that we could not protect ourselves. The men were about to strike the sails so that we could go ashore, but the natives very deftly stole from us the small boat[180] that was fastened to the poop of the flagship. Thereupon, the captain-general in wrath went ashore with forty armed men, who burned some forty or fifty houses together with many boats, and killed seven men.[181] He recovered the small boat, and we departed immediately pursuing the same course. Before we landed, some of our sick men begged us if we should kill any man or woman to bring the entrails to them, as they would recover immediately.[182]

Quando feriuamo alguni de que/ti cõ li veretuni q̃ li pa//auano li fianq^{i} da luna banda alaltra tirauano il veretone mo diqua mo diLa gardandoLo poi Lo tirauano fuora marauigliando/e molto et cu//i moriuano et alt^{i} q̃ erano feriti neL peto faceuano eL Simille ne mo//eno agrã compa/ione Co/toro vedendõe partire ne /eguitorono cõ piu de Cento barchiti piu de vna legua Se aco/tauano ale naui mo/trandone pe/ce cõ /imulatiõe de darnello ma traheuano /axi et poi fugiuano andando le naue cõ velle piene pa/a vano fra loro et li batelli con q^{e}lli /ui barcheti molto de/tri//imi vede/emo algune femine in li barqueti gridare et /capigliar/e credo ꝑ amore de li Suoi morti.

Ognuno de que/ti vive /econdo la Sua volonta non anno /ignori vano nudi et alguni barbati con li capeli negri fino a lo cinta ingropati portano capeleti de palma como li albanezi /onno grandi como nui et ben di/po/ti nõ adorão niente /onno aliua/tri ma na/cono bianq^{i} anno li denti ro//i et negri ꝑ che la reputano beli//ima co/a le femine vano nude /enon q̃ dinanzi a la /ua natura portano vna /cor/a /treta /otille come la carta q̃ na/ce fra larbore et la /corza de la palma /onno belle delicate et bianque piu que li huomini cõ li capilli /par/i

When we wounded any of those people with our crossbow-shafts, which passed completely through their loins from one side to the other, they, looking at it, pulled on the shaft now on this and now on that side,[183] and then drew it out, with great astonishment, and so died. Others who were wounded in the breast did the same, which moved us to great compassion. Those people seeing us departing followed us with more than one hundred[184] boats for more than one legua. They approached the ships showing us fish, feigning that they would give them to us; but then threw stones at us and fled. And although the ships were under full sail, they passed between them and the small boats [fastened astern], very adroitly in those small boats of theirs. We saw some women in their boats who were crying out and tearing their hair, for love, I believe, of those whom we had killed.[185]

Each one of those people lives according to his own will, for they have no seignior.[186] They go naked, and some are bearded and have black hair that reaches to the waist. They wear small palm-leaf hats, as do the Albanians. They are as tall as we, and well built. They have no worship. They are tawny, but are born white. Their teeth are red and black, for they think that is most beautiful. The women go naked except that they wear a narrow strip of bark as thin as paper, which grows between the tree and the bark of the palm, before their privies. They are goodlooking and delicately formed, and lighter complexioned than the men; and wear their hair which is exceedingly black, loose and hanging quite down to the ground. The wom-

et longui negri//imi fino in tera Que/te nõ lauorano ma /tanno in ca/a te//endo /tore casse de palma et altre co/e nece//arie aca/a /ua mangiano cochi batate vcceli figui longui vno palmo canne dolci et pe/ci volatori cõ altre co/e /e ongieno eL corpo et li capili cõ oleo de cocho et de giongioli le /ue ca/e tute /onno facte di legnio coperte de taule cõ foglie defigaro de /op^{a} longue due braza con /olari et cõ fene/tre li camare et li lecti tucti forniti di /tore beli//ime de palma dormeno /oura paglia di palma molto mole et menuta nõ anno arme Senon certe a/te cõ vno o//o pontino de pe/ce ne La cima Que/ta gente e pouera ma ingenio/a et molto ladra ꝑ que/to chiama//emo que/te tre J/ole le y/ole de li ladroni eL /uo /pa/o e andare cõ Le donne ꝑ mare cõ q^{e}lle /ue barquete Sono como le fucelere ma piu /trecti alguni negri bianq^{i} et alt^{i} ro//i anno da lalt^{a} parte dela vella vno legno gro//o pontino nele cime cõ pali atrauer/adi q^{e}L /u/tentano neL acqua ꝑ andare piu /eguri aLa vela la vela e di foglie de palma cosite in/ieme et facta amodo de latina ꝑ timone anno certe pale como da for no cõ vno legnio in cima fanno de la popa proua et de la proua popa et /onno Como delfini /altar a lacqua de onda in onda Que/ti ladroni pen/auano ali

en do not work in the fields but stay in the house, weaving mats,[187] baskets [*casse*: literally boxes], and other things needed in their houses, from palm leaves. They eat cocoanuts, camotes [*batate*],[188] birds, figs one palmo in length [*i.e.*, bananas], sugar-cane, and flying fish, besides other things. They[189] anoint the body and the hair with cocoanut and beneseed oil. Their houses are all built of wood covered with planks and thatched with leaves of the fig-tree [*i.e.*, banana-tree] two brazas long; and they have floors and windows. The rooms and the beds are all furnished with the most beautiful palm-leaf mats.[190] They sleep on palm straw which is very soft and fine. They use no weapons, except a kind of a spear pointed with a fishbone at the end. Those people are poor, but ingenious and very thievish, on account of which we called those three islands the islands of Ladroni [*i.e.*, of thieves].[191] Their amusement, men and women, is to plough the seas with those small boats of theirs.[192] Those boats resemble *fucelere*,[193] but are narrower, and some are black, [some] white, and others red. At the side opposite the sail, they have a large piece of wood pointed at the top, with poles laid across it and resting on the water, in order that the boats may sail more safely. The sail is made from palmleaves sewn together and is shaped like a lateen sail. For rudders they use a certain blade resembling a hearth shovel which have a piece of wood at the end. They can change stern and bow at will [literally: they make the stern, bow, and the bow, stern],[194] and those boats resemble the dolphins which leap in the water from wave to wave. Those Ladroni [*i.e.*, robbers]

/egni q̃ faceuão nõ fu/ero alt^{i} homini aL mondo /enon loro.

Sabato a /edize de mar/o 1521 de//emo neLa aurora soura vna tera alta lõgi trecento legue delle y/olle de li latroni laq^{a}L e y/ola et /e chiama Zamal eL cap^{o} gñale nel giorno /eguente vol/e di/montare in vnalt^{a} y/ola de/habitata ꝑ e//ere piu /eguro q̃ era di dietro de que/ta ꝑ pigliare hacqua et q^{a}lque diporto fece fare due tende in terra ꝑ li infermi et feceli amazare vna porcha Luni a 18. de mar/o vede//emo dapoi di/nare venire ỽ/o de nui vna barca cõ noue homini ꝑ ilque lo cap^{o} generale comando q̃ niuno Si moue//e ne dice//e parolla alguna /enza /ua li/entia Quando ariuorono que/ti in terra /ubito Lo /uo principalle ando aL cap^{o} gñale mo/trando/e alegro ꝑ la nr̃a venuta re/tarono cinq^{3} de que/ti piu ornati cõ nuy li alt^{i} andorono a leuare alguni alt^{i} q̃ pe/cauano et cu//i venirono tucti vedendo Lo cap^{o} gñale que que/ti erano homini cõ ragionne li fece dare da mangiare et li donno bonneti ro//i spequi petini /onagli Auorio boca//ini et alt^{e} co/e Quando vi/tenno la corte/ia deL cap^{o} li pre/entorono pe/ci vno va/o de vino de palma q̃ Lo chiamano Vraca figui piu longui dun palmo et altri piu picoli piu /aporiti et dui cochi alhora nõ haueuano alt^{o} ne fecoro /egni cõ La mano q̃ in fino aquatro giorni portarebenno vmay q̃ e ri/o cochi et molta altra victuuaglia.

thought, according to the signs which they made, that there were no other people in the world but themselves.[195]

At dawn on Saturday, March sixteen,[196] 1521, we came upon a high land at a distance of three hundred leguas from the islands of Latroni – an island named Zamal [*i.e.*, Samar]. The following day, the captain-general desired to land on another island which was uninhabited and lay to the right of the above-mentioned island, in order to be more secure, and to get water and have some rest. He had two tents set up on the shore for the sick and had a sow killed for them. On Monday afternoon, March 18, we saw a boat coming toward us with nine men in it. Therefore, the captain-general ordered that no one should move or say a word without his permission. When those men reached the shore, their chief went immediately to the captain-general, giving signs of joy because of our arrival. Five of the most ornately adorned of them remained with us, while the rest went to get some others who were fishing, and so they all came. The captain-general seeing that they were reasonable men, ordered food to be set before them, and gave them red caps, mirrors, combs, bells, ivory, bocasine,[197] and other things. When they saw the captain's courtesy, they presented fish, a jar of palm wine, which they call *uraca* [*i.e.*, arrack], figs more than one palmo long [*i.e.*, bananas],[198] and others which were smaller and more delicate, and two cocoanuts. They had nothing else then, but made us signs with their hands that they would bring *umay* or rice,[199] and cocoanuts and many other articles of food within four days.

Li coq^{i} ſonno fructi deLa palma coſi como nui hauemo iL panne iL vino lo oleo et lacetto coſi anno queſti populi ogni coſa da queſti arbori anno eL vino in queſto modo forano La dicta palma in cima neL coreſino de to palmito dalq^{a}lle ſtilla vna lichore como e moſto biancho dolce ma vn pocho bruſqueto in canne groſſe come La gamba et piu latacano alarboř la ſera ꝑ la matina et la matina ꝑ la ſera Queſta palma fa vno fructo iL q^{a}lle he lo cocho Queſto cocho e grande como iL capo et piu et meno La ſua p^{i}ma ſcorſa e ỽde et groſſa piu de dui diti nelaq^{a}lle trouano Certi filittj q̃ fanno le corde q̃ liganno le ſue barque ſoto di queſta ne he vna dura et molto piu groſſa di quella de la noce queſta la bruſano et fano poluere bonna ꝑ loro ſoto di queſto e vna medola biancha groſſa come vn dito Laq^{a}L mangiano freſca cõ La carne et peſſi como nui lo panne et de q^{e}L ſapore q̃ he la mandola qui la ſecaſſe ſe farebe panne in mezo di queſta medola e vna hacqua quiara dolce et molto cordialle et quando queſta hacqua ſta vn pocho acolta ſe congella et diuenta como vno pomo Quando voleno fare oglio piglianno queſto cocho et laſſano putrefare q^{e}lla medola cõ lacqua et poi la fanno buglire et vene oleo como butiro Quando voleno far aceto laſanno putrefare lacqua ſolamente poi lameteno aL ſolle et e aceto como de vino biancho ſi po fare ancho

Cocoanuts are the fruit of the palmtree.[200] Just as we have bread, wine, oil, and milk, so those people get everything from that tree. They get wine in the following manner. They bore a hole into the heart of the said palm at the top called palmito [*i.e.*, stalk], from which distils a liquor[201] which resembles white must. That liquor is sweet but somewhat tart, and [is gathered] in canes [of bamboo] as thick as the leg and thicker. They fasten the bamboo to the tree at evening for the morning, and in the morning for the evening. That palm bears a fruit, namely, the cocoanut, which is as large as the head or thereabouts. Its outside husk is green and thicker than two fingers. Certain filaments are found in that husk, whence is made cord for binding together their boats. Under that husk there is a hard shell, much thicker than the shell of the walnut, which they burn and make therefrom a powder that is useful to them.[202] Under that shell there is a white marrowy substance one finger in thickness, which they eat fresh with meat and fish as we do bread; and it has a taste resembling the almond. It could be dried and made into bread. There is a clear, sweet water in the middle of that marrowy substance which is very refreshing. When that water stands for a while after having been collected, it congeals and becomes like an apple. When the natives wish to make oil, they take that cocoanut, and allow the marrowy substance and the water to putrefy. Then they boil it and it becomes oil like butter. When they wish to make vinegar, they allow only the water to putrefy, and then place it in the sun, and a vinegar results like [that made from] white wine.

latte como nui faceuamo gratauamo qȝ/ta medola poi la mi/quiauamo cõ lacqua /ua mede/ima /trucandola in vno panno et co/i era late como di capra. Que/te palme /onno como palme deli datali ma non co/i nodo/e /e non li/ce. Vna famiglia de x per-/onne cõ dui de que/te /e manteneno fruando octo giorni luna et octo giorni La alt^{a} ꝑ Lo vino ꝑ che /e altramenti face//eno Se /echarebenno et durano cento anny.

Grande famillìaritade pigliarono cõ nui Que/ti populi ne di/cero molte co/e como le chiamauano et li nomi de algune y/ole q̃ /e vedeuano de q^{i} La /ua /e chiama Zuluan laq^{a}lle non etropo grande piglia/cemo grã piacere cõ que/ti perche eranno a/ay piaceuoli et conuer/abili iL cap^{o} gñale ꝑ farli piu honnore li meno ala /ua naue et li mo/tro tuta la /ua mercadan/ia garofoli cannella peuere gengero no/ce mo/cade Matia oro et tute le co/e q̃ eranno nella naue fece de/caricare algune bombarde hebero grã paura et vol/ero /altar fuora de la naue ne fecero /egni que li doue nuj andauamo na/ce//euano co/e Ja dete Quando /i vol/ero partire pigliarono li/entia con molta gratia et gentileza dicendo q̃ tornarebeno /egondo la /ua ꝑme//a La y/ola doue eramo /e chiama humunu ma noy ꝑ trouarli due fondana de hacqua chiari//ima la chiame//emo lacquada dali buoni /e gnialli ꝑ che fu iL p^{i}mo /egnio de oro q̃ troua//emo in que/ta

Milk can also be made from it for we made some. We scraped that marrowy substance and then mixed the scrapings with its own water which we strained through a cloth, and so obtained milk like goat's milk. Those palms resemble date-palms, but although not smooth they are less knotty than the latter. A family of x persons can be supported on two trees, by utilizing them week about for the wine; for if they did otherwise, the trees would dry up. They last a century.[203]

Those people became very familiar with us. They told us many things, their names and those of some of the islands that could be seen from that place. Their own island was called Zuluan and it is not very large.[204] We took great pleasure with them, for they were very pleasant and conversable. In order to show them greater honor, the captain-general [205] took them to his ship and showed them all his merchandise – cloves, cinnamon, pepper, ginger, nutmeg, mace, gold, and all the things in the ship. He had some mortars fired for them, whereat they exhibited great fear, and tried to jump out of the ship.[206] They made signs to us that the abovesaid articles grew in that place where we were going. When they were about to retire they took their leave very gracefully and neatly, saying that they would return according to their promise. The island where we were is called Humunu; but inasmuch as we found two springs there of the clearest water, we called it Acquada da li buoni Segnialli [*i.e.*, " the Watering-place of good Signs "], for there were the first signs of gold which we found in those districts.[207]

parte. Qiui ſi troua grã cantitade de coralli biancho et arbori grandi q̃ fanno fructi pocho menori de La mandola et ſonno Como li pignioli et ancho molte palme algune bonne et algune altre catiue in Queſto Locho ſonno molte yſole p̃ ilque Lo chiamaſſemo larcipelago de s. lazaro deſcourendo lo nella ſua dominicha iL quale ſta in x gradi de latitudine aL polo articho et Cento e ſesanta vno di longitudine della linea deLa repartitiõe.

Vennere a 22 de marzo venirono in mezo di q^{e}lli homini Secondo ne haueuano p̃meſſo in due barcque cõ cochi naranſi dolci vno vaſo de vino de palma et vno galo p̃ dimoſtrare que in queſte parte eranno galine se moſtrarono molto alegri verſo de noi compraſſemo tute q^{e}lle ſue coſe iL ſuo s^{or} era vechio et de pinto portaua due Schione de oro a le oreq^{i}e li altri molte maniglie de oro ali brazi cõ fazoli in torno Lo capo Steſemo quiui octo [giorni] neliq^{a}lli eL nr̃o cap^{o} andaua ogni di in terra auiſitare ly infirmi et ogni matina li daua cõ le ſue mani acqua deL cocho q̃ molto li confortaua di dietro de queſta yſola ſtanno homini q̃ anno tanto grandi li picheti de Lorechie q̃ portanno le braci ficati in loro Queſti popoli ſonno caphri çioe gentili vanno nudi cõ tella de ſcorſa darbore intorno le ſue vergonie se nõ alguni principali cõ telle de banbazo lauorate neli capi cõ ſeda aguchia sonno oliuaſt^{i} graſſi de pinti et ſe ongeno cõ olio de cocho et de giongioli p̃ lo ſolle et p̃ iL vento anno

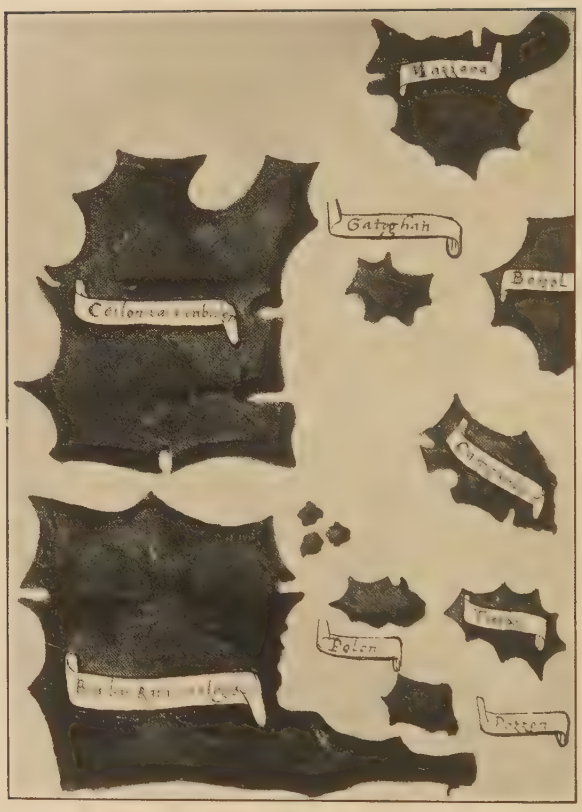
We found a great quantity of white coral there, and large trees with fruit a trifle smaller than the almond and resembling pine seeds. There are also many palms, some of them good and others bad. There are many islands in that district, and therefore we called them the archipelago of San Lazaro, as they were discovered on the Sabbath of St. Lazurus.[208] They lie in x degrees of latitude toward the Arctic Pole, and in a longitude of one hundred and sixty-one degrees from the line of demarcation.

At noon on Friday, March 22, those men came as they had promised us in two boats with cocoanuts, sweet oranges, a jar of palm-wine, and a cock,[209] in order to show us that there were fowls in that district. They exhibited great signs of pleasure at seeing us.[210] We purchased all those articles from them. Their seignior was an old man who was painted [*i.e.*, tattooed]. He wore two gold earrings [*schione*] in his ears,[211] and the others many gold armlets on their arms and kerchiefs about their heads. We stayed there one week, and during that time our captain went ashore daily to visit the sick, and [212] every morning gave them cocoanut water from his own hand, which comforted them greatly. There are people living near that island [213] who have holes in their ears so large that they can pass their arms through them. Those people are caphri,[214] that is to say, heathen. They go naked, with a cloth woven from the bark of a tree about their privies, except some of the chiefs who wear cotton cloth embroidered with silk at the ends by means of a needle. They are dark, fat, and painted. They anoint themselves with cocoanut and with beneseed oil, as a protection

li capili negri//imi fina a La cinta et anno dague cortelli lan/e fornite de oro targoni facine arponi et rete da pe/care come Rizali le /ue barche /onno como le no/t[e]

NeL luni /ancto a vinticinq3 de mar/o giorno de La nr̃a donna pa//ato mezo di e//endo de hora in ora p̱ leuar/i anday abordo de la naue p̱ pe/care et metendo li piedi /opra vna antena p̱ de/cedere nela mesa degarni tiõe me slizegarono p̱ che era pioue/to et co/i ca/tai neL mare q̃ ninguno me vi/te et e//endo qua/i /umer/o me venne ne La mano Sini/tra La /cota de La vella magiore q̃ era a/co/a ne ł acqua me teni forte et Comen/ai agridare tanto q̃ fui ajutato cõ Lo batelo nõ credo Ja per mey meriti ma p̱ la mi/ericordia di q[e]lla fonte de pieta fo//e ajutato. neL mede/imo Jorno piglia//emo tra iL ponente et garbĩ infra quat[o] y/olle çioe Cenalo hiunanghan Jbusson et abarien

Joue a vinti octo de marzo p̱ hauere vi/to la nocte pa//ata fuocho in vna y/ola ne la matina /urgi//emo apre//o de que/ta vede/emo vna barcha picola q̃ la chiamano boloto cõ octo homini de dent[o] appincar/e nela naue Ca pitanea Vno /chiauo deL cap[o] gñale q̃ era de zamatra gia chiamata traprobana li parlo ilq[a]lle /ubito inte/eno venero neL bordo de la naue nõ volendo intrare dent[o], ma /tauano vno pocho di/co/ti vedendo eL cap[o] q̃ nõ voleuano fidar/i de nui li buto vn bonnet ro//o et altre co/e ligate /up[a] vn pezo de taula La piglioronno molto alegri et


Gatoghan
Bengal
Polon

against sun and wind. They have very black hair that falls to the waist, and use daggers, knives, and spears [215] ornamented with gold, large shields, fascines,[216] javelins, and fishing nets that resemble rizali; [217] and their boats are like ours.

On the afternoon of holy Monday, the day of our Lady, March twenty-five, while we were on the point of weighing anchor, I went to the side of the ship to fish, and putting my feet upon a yard leading down into the storeroom, they slipped, for it was rainy, and consequently I fell into the sea, so that no one saw me. When I was all but under, my left hand happened to catch hold of the clew-garnet of the mainsail, which was dangling [*ascosa*] in the water. I held on tightly, and began to cry out so lustily that I was rescued by the small boat. I was aided, not, I believe, indeed, through my merits, but through the mercy of that font of charity [*i.e.*, of the Virgin]. That same day we shaped our course toward the west southwest between four small islands, namely, Cenalo, Hiunanghan,[218] Ibusson, and Abarien.

On Thursday morning, March twenty-eight, as we had seen a fire on an island the night before, we anchored near it.[219] We saw a small boat which the natives call *boloto* with eight men in it, approaching the flagship. A slave belonging to the captain-general, who was a native of Zamatra [*i.e.*, Sumatra], which was formerly called Traprobana, spoke to them. They immediately understood him, came alongside the ship, unwilling to enter but taking a position at some little distance.[220] The captain seeing that they would not trust us, threw them out a red cap and other things tied to a bit of wood. They

Subito Se partirono ꝑ aui/are el /uo re deli circa due hore vede//emo vegnire due balanghai /onno barche grande et cu//e le chiamano pienni de huomini neL magioꝛ era Lo suo re Sedendo /oto vno coperto de /tore Quando eL giun/e aꝑ//o La capitania iL Schiauo li parlo iL re lo inte/e ꝑ che in que/te parte li re /anno piu linguagij q̃ li altⁱ comando q̃ alguni /oi intra//eno nele naue luy /empre /tete neL /uo balanghai poco longi de La naue fin che li /uoi tornoronno et /ubito tornati /e parti. iL Capº gñalle fece grande honnore aqᵉlli q̃ venirono nela naue et donnoli algune co/e per ilche il re inanzi la /ua partita vol/e donnare aL capº vna bara de oro grande et vna /porta piena de gengero ma luj rengratiandoL molto nõ volce acceptarle neL tardi anda/emo cõ le naue apre//o la habitatiõe deL re.

JL giorno /eguente q̃ era eL venerdi /ancto eL capº gñale mando lo /quia ua q̃ era lo interprete nr̃o in tera in vno batello adire aL re /e haueua alguna co/a da mangiare la face//e portaꝛ in naue q̃ re/tariano bene /ati/fati da noi et como amici et nõ Como nimici era venuti a la/ua y/ola eL re venne cõ /ey vero octo homini neL mede/imo batello et entro nela naue abrazando/i col capº gñale et donoli tre vazi di porcelanna coperti de foglie pienne de rizo crudo et due orade molto grande cõ altre co/e eL capº dete al re vna ve/te de panno ro//o et giallo fato a La torche/ca et vno bonnet ro//o fino ali altⁱ Sui aqⁱ

received them very gladly, and went away quickly to advise their king. About two hours later we saw two balanghai coming. They are large boats and are so called [by those people]. They were full of men, and their king was in the larger of them, being seated under an awning of mats. When the king came near the flagship, the slave spoke to him. The king understood him, for in those districts the kings know more languages than the other people. He ordered some of his men to enter the ships, but he always remained in his balanghai, at some little distance from the ship until his own men returned; and as soon as they returned he departed. The captain-general showed great honor to the men who entered the ship, and gave them some presents, for which the king wished before his departure to give the captain a large bar [221] of gold and a basketful of ginger. The latter, however, thanked the king heartily but would not accept it. In the afternoon we went in the ships [and anchored] near the dwellings of the king.

Next day, holy Friday, the captain-general sent his slave, who acted as our interpreter, ashore in a small boat to ask the king if he had any food to have it carried to the ships; [222] and to say that they would be well satisfied with us, for he [and his men] had come to the island as friends and not as enemies. The king came with six or eight men [223] in the same boat and entered the ship. He embraced the captain-general to whom he gave three porcelain jars covered with leaves and full of raw rice, two very large *orade*,[224] and other things. The captain-general gave the king a garment of red and yellow cloth made in the Turkish fashion, and a fine red cap; and to the others (the king's men), to some knives and to others mirrors. Then the captain-general

cortelli et aq^{i} /pecq^{i} poy le fece dare la Colatiõe et ꝑ il chiauo li fece dire q̃ voleua e//ere cun lui ca/i ca/i cioe fratello ri/po/e q̃ co//i voleua e//ere ỽ/o de lui dapoy lo cap^{o} ge mo/tro panno de diver/i colori tela corali et molta alt^{a} mercantia et tuta lartigliaria facendola de/cargare alguni molto /i /pauentorno poi fece armare vno homo cõ vno homo darme et li me//e atorno tre cõ /pade et pugniale q̃ li dauano ꝑ tuto iL corpo ꝑ laq^{a}L co/a eL re re/to ca/i fora di/e li di//e ꝑ il Schiauo q̃ vno de que/ti armati valeua ꝑ cento de li suoi re/po/e q̃ era cu//i et q̃ in ogni naue ne menaua duzento q̃ /e armauano de q^{e}lla /orte li mo/tro Corazine /pade et rodelle et fece fare a vno vna leuata poi Lo condu//e /up^{a} la tolda dela naue q̃ he in cima de la popa et fece portare la /ua carta de nauigare et La bu//ola et li di//e ꝑ linterprete como trouo Lo /treto ꝑ vegnire alui et Quante lune /onno /tati /enza vedere terra Se marauiglio in vltimo li di/ce q̃ voleua /e li piace//e mandare /eco dui homini acio li mo/tra//e algune de le /ue co/e re-/po/e q̃ era contento yo ge anday cõ vno alt^{o}

Quando fui in tera il re leuo le mani aL ciello et

had a collation spread for them, and had the king told through the slave that he desired to be *casi casi*[225] with him, that is to say, brother. The king replied that he also wished to enter the same relations with the captain-general. Then the captain showed him cloth of various colors, linen, coral [ornaments], and many other articles of merchandise, and all the artillery, some of which he had discharged for him, whereat the natives were greatly frightened. Then the captain-general had a man armed as a soldier,[226] and placed him in the midst of three men armed with swords and daggers, who struck him on all parts of the body. Thereby was the king rendered almost speechless. The captain-general told him through the slave that one of those armed men was worth one hundred of his own men. The king answered that that was a fact. The captain-general said that he had two hundred men in each ship who were armed in that manner.[227] He showed the king cuirasses, swords, and bucklers, and had a review made for him.[228] Then he led the king to the deck of the ship, that is located above at the stern; and had his sea-chart and compass brought.[229] He told the king through the interpreter how he had found the strait in order to voyage thither, and how many moons he had been without seeing land, whereat the king was astonished. Lastly, he told the king that he would like, if it were pleasing to him, to send two of his men with him so that he might show them some of his things. The king replied that he was agreeable, and I went in company with one of the other men.[230]

When I reached shore, the king raised his hands

poi /e volta cont^{a} nuy dui face//emo lo /imille ver/o de lui co/i tuti li alt^{i} fecero il re me piglio ꝑ La mano vno /uo principale piglio lalt^{o} compag^{o} et cu//i ne menorõ /oto vno coperto de cane doue era vno balanghai longo octanta palmi deli mey Simille a vna fu/ta ne sede//emo /op^{a} la popa de que/to /empre parlando con /egni li suoi ne /tauano in piedi atorno atorno cõ /pade dague Lanze et targoni fece portare vno piato de carne de porco cõ vño vazo grande pienno de vino beueuamo adogni boconne vna ta//a de vino lo vino q̃ li auan/aua q^{a}lque volta ben q̃ fo/ceno poche /e meteua in vno vazo da ꝑ /i la /ua ta/a /empre /taua coperta ninguno alt^{o} li beueua Se nõ il re et yo Jnanzi q̃ lo re piglia//e la ta//a ꝑ bere alzaua li mani giunte al çielo et ỿ/o de nui et Quando voleua bere extendeua lo pugnio dela mano sini /tra ver/o dime prima pen/aua me vole//e dare vn pognio et poi beueua faceua co/i yo ver/o il re Que/ti /egni fanno tuti luno ver/o de Laltro quando beueno cõ que/te cerimonie et alt^{i} /egni de ami/itia merenda /emo mangiay neL vennere /ancto carne ꝑ nõ potere fare alt^{o} Jnanzi q̃ veni//e lora de cenare donay molte co/e al re q̃ haueua portati /cri//e a/ai co//e como le chiamanão Quanto Lo re et li alt^{i} me vi/tenno fcriuere et li diceua q^{e}lle /ue parolle tutti re/torono atoniti in que/to mezo venne lora de cenare portoronno duy plati grandi de porcelanna vno pienno de rizo et lalt^{o} de carne de porcho cõ /uo brodo cena//emo

toward the sky and then turned toward us two. We did the same toward him[231] as did all the others. The king took me by the hand; one of his chiefs took my companion: and thus they led us under a bamboo covering, where there was a balanghai,[232] as long as eighty of my palm lengths, and resembling a fusta. We sat down upon the stern of that balanghai, constantly conversing with signs. The king's men stood about us in a circle with swords, daggers, spears, and bucklers.[233] The king had a plate of pork brought in and a large jar filled with wine. At every mouthful, we drank a cup of wine. The wine that was left [in the cup] at any time, although that happened but rarely, was put into a jar by itself. The king's cup was always kept covered and no one else drank from it but he and I. Before the king took the cup to drink, he raised his clasped hands toward the sky, and then toward me; and when he was about to drink, he extended the fist of his left hand toward me (at first I thought that he was about to strike me) and then drank. I did the same toward the king. They all make those signs one toward another when they drink. We ate with such ceremonies and with other signs of friendship. I ate meat on holy Friday, for I could not help myself. Before the supper hour I gave the king many things which I had brought. I wrote down the names of many things in their language. When the king and the others saw me writing, and when I told them their words, they were all astonished.[234] While engaged in that the supper hour was announced. Two large porcelain dishes were brought in, one full of rice and the other of pork with its gravy.

cõ li mede/imj /egni et cerimonie poi anda//emo aL palatio deL re eLq^{a}lle era facto como vna teza da fienno coperto de foglie de figaro et de palma era edificato /oura legni gro//i alti de terra q^{e}L /e conuiene andare cõ /calle ne fece /edere /op^{a} vna /tora de canne tenendo le gambe atracte como li Sarti deli ameza ora fo portato vno piato de pe/ce bru/tolato in pezi et gengero ꝑ alora colto et vino eL figliolo magiore deL re chera iL principe vene doue eramo il re li di//e q̃ /ede//e apre//o noi et co//i /edete fu portato dui piati vno de pe/ce cõ lo /ue brodo et lalt^{o} de rizo acio q̃ mangia//emo col principe il nr̃o compag^{o} ꝑ tanto bere et mangiare diuento briaco Vzano ꝑ lume goma de arbore q̃ la quiamão anime voltata in foglie de palma o de figaro el re ne fece /egno q^{e}L voleua andare adormire la//o cõ nui lo principe cõ q^{a}lle dormi-/emo /op^{a} vna /tora de canne cõ co//ini de foglie venuto lo giorno eL re venne et me piglio ꝑ La mano co//i anda//emo doue aveuamo cenato ꝑ fare colatiõe ma iL batelle ne venne aleuare Jnanzi la partita eL re molto alegro ne ba/o le mani et noi le /ue venne cõ nui vno /uo fratello re dunalt^{a} y/ola cõ tre homini Lo cap^{o} gñale lo retenete adi/nare cõ nui et donoli molte co/e.

Nella y/ola de que/to re que condu//i ale naui /e troua pezi de oro grandi como noce et oui criuelando la terra tutti li va/o de que/to re /onno de oro et

We ate with the same signs and ceremonies, after which we went to the palace of the king which was built like a hayloft and was thatched with fig [*i.e.*, banana] and palm leaves. It was built up high from the ground on huge posts of wood and it was necessary to ascend to it by means of ladders.[235] The king made us sit down there on a bamboo mat with our feet drawn up like tailors. After a half-hour a platter of roast fish cut in pieces was brought in, and ginger freshly gathered, and wine. The king's eldest son, who was the prince, came over to us, whereupon the king told him to sit down near us, and he accordingly did so. Then two platters were brought in (one with fish and its sauce, and the other with rice), so that we might eat with the prince. My companion became intoxicated as a consequence of so much drinking and eating. They used the gum of a tree called *anime* wrapped in palm or fig [*i.e.*, banana] leaves for lights. The king made us a sign that he was going to go to sleep. He left the prince with us, and we slept with the latter on a bamboo mat with pillows made of leaves. When day dawned the king came and took me by the hand, and in that manner we went to where we had had supper, in order to partake of refreshments, but the boat came to get us. Before we left, the king kissed our hands with great joy, and we his. One of his brothers, the king of another island, and three men came with us. The captain-general kept him to dine with us, and gave him many things.[236]

Pieces of gold, of the size of walnuts and eggs are found by sifting the earth in the island of that king who came to our ships. All the dishes of that

anche alguna parte de dela ca/a /ua co/i ne referite Lo mede/imo re /e gondo lo /ue co/tume era molto in ordine et Lo piu bello huomo que vede//emo fra que/ti populi haueua li capili negri//imi fin alle /palle cõ vno velo de /eta /op^{a} Lo capo et due /quione grande de horo tacatte ale orechie portaua vno panno de bombazo tuto Lauorato de /eta q̃ copriua dala cinta fino aL ginoquio aL lato vna daga cõ Lo manicho al canto longo tuto de oro iL fodro era de legnio lauorato in ogni dente haueua tre machie doro q̃ pareuano fo//eno ligati cõ oro oleua de /torac et beligioui era oliua/tro et tuto depinto. Que/ta /ua y/ola /e chiama butuan et calagan. Quando que/ti re /e voleuano vedere ve neno tuti due aLa caza in que/ta y/ola doue eramo eL re p^{i}mo /e q^{i}ama raia colambu iL /egundo raia siaui.

Domenicha vltimo de mar/o giorno de pa/ca nela matina ꝑ tempo eL cap^{o} gñale mando il prete cõ alcanti aparechiare ꝑ douere dire me//a cõ lo interprete a dire al re q̃ nõ voleuamo di/cendere in terra ꝑ di/inar /echo ma ꝑ aldire me//a ꝑ ilque Lo re ne mando dui porq^{i} morti Quando fu hora de me//a anda//emo in terra for/e cinquanta huomini nõ armati la ꝑ/o na ma cõ le altre nr̃e arme et meglio ve/tite q̃ pote//emo Jnanzi que arua//emo aLa riua cõ li bateli forenno /caricati sej pezi de bombarde in /egnio de pace /alta//emo in terra li dui re

king are of gold and also some portion of his house, as we were told by that king himself. According to their customs he was very grandly decked out [*molto in ordine*],[237] and the finest looking man that we saw among those people. His hair was exceedingly black, and hung to his shoulders. He had a covering of silk on his head, and wore two large golden earrings fastened in his ears. He wore a cotton cloth all embroidered with silk, which covered him from the waist to the knees. At his side hung a dagger, the haft of which was somewhat long and all of gold, and its scabbard of carved wood. He had three spots of gold on every tooth, and his teeth appeared as if bound with gold.[238] He was perfumed with storax and benzoin. He was tawny and painted [*i.e.*, tattooed] all over. That island of his was called Butuan and Calagan.[239] When those kings wished to see one another, they both went to hunt in that island where we were. The name of the first king is Raia Colambu, and the second Raia Siaui.[240]

Early on the morning of Sunday, the last of March, and Easter-day, the captain-general sent the priest with some men to prepare the place where mass was to be said;[241] together with the interpreter to tell the king that we were not going to land in order to dine with him, but to say mass. Therefore the king sent us two swine that he had had killed. When the hour for mass arrived, we landed with about fifty men, without our body armor, but carrying our other arms, and dressed in our best clothes.[242] Before we reached the shore with our boats, six pieces were discharged as a sign of peace. We

abra//arono lo cap° gñale et Lo me//eno in mezo de loro anda//emo in ordinanza fino aL locho con/acrato non molto longi de la riua Jnanzi /e comen/a//e la me//a iL cap° bagno tuto eL corpo de li dui re con hacqua mo/ta da Se ofer/e ala me//a li re andorono aba//iare la croce como nuy ma nõ ofer/eno Quando /e leuaua lo corpo de nr̃o s^or^. /tauano in genoquioni et adorauanlo cõ le mane gionte le naue tirarono tuta La artigliaria in vno tempo quando /e leuo Lo corpo de x° dando ge Lo /egnio de la tera cõ li /chiopetj finita la me//a alquanti deli no/t^i^ /e comunicorono Lo cap° generale fece fare vno ballo cõ le /pade deque le re hebenno grã piacere poi fece portare vna croce cõ li quiodi et la coronna alaq^a^L /ubito fecero reuerentia li di//e per Lo interprete como que/to era iL vessilo datoli daLo inperatoř /uo /ignore açio in ogni parte doue anda//e mete//e que/to /uo /egnialle et che voleua meterlo iui ꝑ /ua vtilita ꝑ che /e vene/-/eno algune naue dele nr̃e /aperianno cõ que/ta croce noj e//ere /tati in que/to locho et nõ farebenno de/-piacere aloro ne ale co/e [co/e: *doublet in original MS.*] et /e piglia//eno alguno de li /oi /ubito mo/trandoli que/to /egnialle le la//erianno andare et q̃ conueniua meteř que/ta croce in cima deL piu alto monte que fo//e açio vedendola ogni matina La adora//eno et /eq3/to faceuano ne troui ne fulmini ni tempe/ta li nocerebe in co/a alguna lo ringratiorno molto et q̃ farebenno ogni co/a volen-

landed; the two kings embraced the captain-general, and placed him between them. We went in marching order to the place consecrated, which was not far from the shore. Before the commencement of mass, the captain sprinkled the entire bodies of the two kings with musk water.[243] The mass was offered up. The kings went forward to kiss the cross as we did, but they did not offer the sacrifice.[244] When the body of our Lord was elevated, they remained on their knees and worshiped Him with clasped hands. The ships fired all their artillery at once when the body of Christ was elevated, the signal having been given from the shore with muskets. After the conclusion of mass, some of our men took communion.[245] The captain-general arranged a fencing tournament,[246] at which the kings were greatly pleased. Then he had a cross carried in and the nails and a crown, to which immediate reverence was made.[247] He told the kings through the interpreter that they were the standards given to him by the emperor his sovereign, so that wherever he might go he might set up those his tokens. [He said] that he wished to set it up in that place for their benefit, for whenever any of our ships came,[248] they would know that we had been there by that cross, and would do nothing to displease them or harm their property [property: *doublet in original MS.*]. If any of their men were captured, they would be set free immediately on that sign being shown. It was necessary to set that cross on the summit of the highest mountain, so that on seeing it every morning, they might adore it; and if they did that, neither thunder, lightning, nor storms would harm them in the least. They

tieri ancho li fece dire ſe eranno morj ho gentili o inque credeuão ri/po/ero q̃ nõ adorauão altº ſinon al/auano le mani giunti et la faza al ciello et q̃ chiamauão Lo ſua dio Abba ꝑ laqªL co/a lo capº hebe grande alegre//a vedendo que/to eL pⁱmo re leuo le mani aL ciello et di//e q̃ voria ſe fo//e po//ibille farli vedeř iL ſuo amore ver/o de lui Lo interprete ge di//e ꝑ qªL cagiõe haueua quiui co/i pocho da mangiare re/po/e q̃ nõ habitaua in q3/to Locho ſe nõ quãdo veniua a La caza et a vedere Lo ſuo fratello ma ſtaua in vna altª y/ola doue haueua tuta la ſua famiglia li fece dire ſe haueua Jnimici Lo dice//e ꝑ cio andarebe cõ que/te naue ade/trugerli et faria lo hobedirianno Lo rengratio et di//e q̃ haueua benne due y/olle nemiche maque alhora nõ era tempo de andarui Lo Capº li di//e ſe dio face//e q̃ vnaltª fiatta ritorna/ce in que/te parte conduria tanta gente q̃ farebe ꝑ for/a e/erli ſugette et que voleua andare adi/nare et dapoy tornarebe ꝑ far pore la croce in cima deL monte ri/po/ero eranno Contenti facendo//e vn bata glione cõ ſcaricare li ſquiopeti et abra/ando/i lo capº cõ li due re piglia//emo li/entia.

Dopo di/nare torna//emo tucti in gioponne et anda/semo in/ieme cõ li duy Re neL mezo di in cima

thanked him heartily and [said] that they would do everything willingly. The captain-general also had them asked whether they were Moros or heathen, or what was their belief. They replied that they worshiped nothing, but that they raised their clasped hands and their face to the sky; and that they called their god "Abba."[249] Thereat the captain was very glad, and seeing that, the first king raised his hands to the sky, and said that he wished that it were possible for him to make the captain see his love for him. The interpreter asked the king why there was so little to eat there. The latter replied that he did not live in that place except when he went hunting and to see his brother, but that he lived in another island where all his family were. The captain-general had him asked to declare whether he had any enemies, so that he might go with his ships to destroy them and to render them obedient to him.[250] The king thanked him and said that he did indeed have two islands hostile to him, but that it was not then the season to go there. The captain told him that if God would again allow him to return to those districts, he would bring so many men that he would make the king's enemies subject to him by force. He said that he was about to go to dinner, and that he would return afterward to have the cross set up on the summit of the mountain. They replied that they were satisfied, and then forming in battalion and firing the muskets, and the captain having embraced the two kings, we took our leave.

After dinner we all returned clad in our doublets, and that afternoon[251] went together with the two

deL piu alto monte q̃ fo//e Quando ariua//emo in cima Lo cap° genneralle li di//e como li era caro hauere /udato ꝑ loro ꝑ che e/endo iui la croce nõ poteua /inon grandamẽte Jouarli et domandoli qªL porto era migliore ꝑ victuuaglie dice//ero q̃ ne erano tre çioe Ceylon Zubu et calaghann ma che Zubu era piu grande et de meglior trafico et /e profer/enno di darni piloti q̃ ne in/egnia-rebenno iL viag° Lo cap° gñale li rengratio et delibero de andarli ꝑ q̃ cu//i voleua la sua infelice /orte. po/ta la cruce ognuno dice vno pater no/ter et vna aue maria adorandola co/i li re fecenno poy de/cende//emo ꝑ li /ui campi Lauorattj et anda/-/emo doue era lo balanghai li re feceno portare alquanti cochi açio /e rinfre/ca//imo Lo cap° li domando li piloti ꝑ che la matina /equente voleua partir/i et q̃ li tratarebe como /e mede/imo La/an-doli vno de li nr̃j ꝑ o/tagio ri/po/ero q̃ ogni ora li vole//e eranno aL /uo comãdo ma nela nocte iL pⁱmo re /e mudo dopigniõe La matina quando eramo ꝑ partir/i eL re mando adire aL cap° gene-ralle q̃ per amore /uo a/pecta//e duj giornj fin q̃ face//e coglire el rizo et altⁱ /ui menuti pregandolo manda//e alguni homini ꝑ ajutareli açio piu pre/to /e /paza//e et q̃ luy mede/imo voleua e//ere lo nr̃o piloto. lo Cap° mandoli alguni homini ma li Re

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kings to the summit of the highest mountain there. When we reached the summit, the captain-general told them that he esteemed highly having sweated for them, for since the cross was there, it could not but be of great use to them. On asking them which port was the best to get food, they replied that there were three, namely, Ceylon, Zubu, and Calaghann, but that Zubu was the largest and the one with most trade. They offered of their own accord to give us pilots to show us the way. The captain-general thanked them, and determined to go there, for so did his unhappy fate will. After the cross was erected in position, each of us repeated a *Pater Noster* and an *Ave Maria*, and adored the cross; and the kings did the same. Then we descended through their cultivated fields, and went to the place where the balanghai was.[252] The kings had some cocoanuts brought in so that we might refresh ourselves. The captain asked the kings for the pilots for he intended to depart the following morning, and [said] that he would treat them as if they were the kings themselves, and would leave one of us as hostage. The kings replied that every hour he wished the pilots were at his command, but that night the first king changed his mind, and in the morning when we were about to depart, sent word to the captain-general, asking him for love of him to wait two days until he should have his rice harvested, and other trifles attended to. He asked the captain-general to send him some men to help him, so that it might be done sooner; and said that he intended to act as our pilot himself. The captain sent him some men, but the kings ate and drank so much

tanto mangiorono et beueteno q̃ dormiteno tuto il giorno alguni ꝑ e/cu/arli dicero q̃ haueuano vno pocho de malle ꝑ q^{e}L giorno li no/t^{i} nõ fecero niente ma neli alt^{i} dui /eguenti lauorono.

Vno de que/ti populi ne porte force vna /cudela de rizo cõ octo o dieze figue ligaty in/ieme ꝑ baratarli in vno cortello q̃ valeua iL piu tre catrini eL cap^{o} vedendo que que/to nõ voleua alt^{o} Senon vno cortello lo chiamo ꝑ vedere piu co/e mi//e mano a la bor/a et li volce dare ꝑ q^{e}lle co/e vno realL lui noL vol/i lui mo/tro vno ducato mancho lo accepto al fine li volce dare vno dopionne de duy ducati nõ volce mai alt^{o} q̃ vn corte lo et cu//i li lo fece dare Andando vno de li nr̃i in terra ꝑ tore acqua vno de que/ti li volce dare vno coronna pontina de oro ma/içio grãde como vna colona ꝑ /ey filce de cri/talino ma iL cap^{o} non volce q̃ la bara ta//e açio que in que/to principio /ape//ero q̃ pritiauamo piu la nr̃a mercantia q̃ Lo /uo oro.

Que/ti populi /onno gentili vanno nudi et de pinti portano vno pezo de tella de arbore intorno le /ue vergonie Sonno grandi//imi beuitori le /ue femi ne vanno ve/tite de tella de arbore de la cinta in giu cõ li capili negri fina in terra anno forate le orechie et pienne de oro. Que/ta gente /empre ma/ticanno vno fruto q̃ Lo quiamano Areca e como vno pero lo taglianno in quat^{o} parti et poi lo volueno nele foglie deL /uo arburo q̃ le nominano

that they slept all the day. Some said to excuse them that they were slightly sick. Our men did nothing on that day, but they worked the next two days.[253]

One of those people brought us about a porringer full of rice and also eight or ten figs [*i.e.*, bananas] fastened together to barter them for a knife which at the most was worth three catrini.[254] The captain seeing that that native cared for nothing but a knife, called him to look at other things. He put his hand in his purse and wished to give him one real for those things, but the native refused it. The captain showed him a ducado but he would not accept that either. Finally the captain tried to give him a doppione [255] worth two ducados, but he would take nothing but a knife; and accordingly the captain had one given to him. When one of our men went ashore for water, one of those people wanted to give him a pointed crown of massy gold, of the size of a colona [256] for six strings of glass beads, but the captain refused to let him barter, so that the natives should learn at the very beginning that we prized our merchandise more than their gold.[257]

Those people are heathens,[258] and go naked and painted. They wear a piece of cloth woven from a tree about their privies.[259] They are very heavy drinkers.[260] Their women are clad in tree cloth from their waist down, and their hair is black and reaches to the ground. They have holes pierced in their ears which are filled with gold. Those people are constantly chewing a fruit which they call *areca*, and which resembles a pear. They cut that fruit into four parts, and then wrap it in the leaves

betre /onno como foglie di moraro cõ vno poco de calcina et quando le anno bẽ ma/ticate le /putano fora fanno diuentare la boca roci//ima Tucti li populi de que/ta parte deL mondo le vzanno ꝑ che rinfre/cali molto eL core Se re/ta//eno de vzarle morirebenno in que/ta izolla /onno cany gati porci galine capre rizo gengero cochi figui naranzi limoni miglio panizo /orgo cera et molto oro /ta de Latitudine in noue gradi et dui ter/i aL artico et cento et /e/anta dui de longitudine della linea de La ripartitiõe et vinti cinque legue longi de la acquada et /e chiama Mazaua

Ste/semo sette giorni quiui poi piglia//emo la via deL mai/trale pa//ando fª cinqȝ y/olle cioe Ceylon bohol canighan baybai et gatighan in que/ta y/ola de gatigan /onno barba/tili grandi como aquille ꝑ q̃ era tardi ne amaça//emo vno era como vna galina aL mangiare ge /onno colombi tortore papagali et certi vcelli negri grandi como galine cõ la coda lõga fanno oui grandi como de ocqua li meteno /oto la /abia ꝑ lo grã caldo li crea Quando /onno na/ciuti alzano la arena et vieneno fora que/ti oui /onno bony de mangiare. De mazaua agatighan /onno vinti leghe partendone da gatighan aL ponente iL re de mazaua non ne puote /eguiř ꝑ che lo e/pecta//emo circa tre y/olle cioe polo ticobon et pozon quando eL gion/e molte

of their tree which they call *betre* [*i.e.*, betel]. Those leaves resemble the leaves of the mulberry. They mix it with a little lime, and when they have chewed it thoroughly, they spit it out.[261] It makes the mouth exceedingly red. All the people in those parts of the world use it, for it is very cooling to the heart, and if they ceased to use it they would die. There are dogs, cats, swine, fowls, goats, rice, ginger, cocoanuts, figs [*i.e.*, bananas], oranges, lemons, millet, panicum, sorgo,[262] wax, and a quantity of gold in that island. It lies in a latitude of nine and two-thirds degrees toward the Arctic Pole, and in a longitude of one hundred and sixty-two degrees from the line of demarcation. It is twenty-five from the Acquada, and is called Mazaua.[263]

We remained there seven days, after which we laid our course toward the northwest, passing among[264] five islands, namely, Ceylon, Bohol, Canighan, Baybai, and Gatighan.[265] In the last-named island of Gatigan, there are bats as large as eagles. As it was late we killed one of them,[266] which resembled chicken in taste. There are doves, turtle-doves,[267] parrots, and certain black birds as large as domestic chickens, which have a long tail. The last mentioned birds lay eggs as large as the goose, and bury them under the sand, through the great heat of which they hatch out. When the chicks are born, they push up the sand, and come out. Those eggs are good to eat. There is a distance of twenty leguas from Mazaua to Gatighan. We set out westward from Gatighan, but the king of Mazaua could not follow us [closely], and consequently, we awaited him near three islands, namely, Polo, Ticobon, and

/e marauiglio deL nr̃o nauigare Lo cap° gñale lo fece mõ tare nela /ua naue cõ alguni /oi principali dilque hebero piacere et co//i anda//emo in zubu da gatighan azubu /onno quindice legue.

Domeniga a sete de ap^ille amezo di intra//emo neL porto de Zubu pa//ando per molti vilagij vedeuamo molte caze facte /opra li arbori Apropinquãdone ala cita Lo cap° gñale comando le naui sinbandera//eno furono Calate le velle et po/te amodo de bataglia et /carico tuta lartigliaria p ilque que/ti populi hebero grandi//ima paura Lo cap° mando vno /uo alieuo cõ lo interprete inba//iatore aL re de Zubo. Quando ariuorono nela cita trouorono Jnfiniti huomini in/ieme cõ Lo re tuti pauro/i p le bombarde linterprete li di//e que/to e/ere nr̃o co/tume intrando in /imili luogui in /egnio de pace et ami/itia et p honnorare lo re deL luogo /caricauamo tuctele bombarde eL re et tucti li /uoi /e a/egurorono et fece dire ali no/t^i p lo /uo gouuernatore q̃ voleuamo linterprete ri/po/e como eL /uo /igniore era cap° deL magiore re et principe fo//e neL mondo et q̃ andaua adi/courir̃ malucho ma p la /ua bonna fama Como haueua Jntezo daL re de mazaua era venuto /olamente p vizitarlo et pigliare victuuaglia cõ la /ua merchadantia li di//e q̃ in bonna hora fo//e venuto ma q̃ haueua que/ta vzan/a tutte le naui q̃ intrauano neL porto /uo pagauão tributu et q̃ nõ eranno quat° g^i che

Pozon.[268] When he caught up with us he was greatly astonished at the rapidity with which we sailed. The captain-general had him come into his ship with several of his chiefs at which they were pleased. Thus did we go to Zubu from Gatighan, the distance to Zubu being fifteen leguas.[269]

At noon on Sunday, April seven, we entered the port of Zubu, passing by many villages, where we saw many houses built upon logs. On approaching the city, the captain-general ordered the ships to fling their banners. The sails were lowered and arranged as if for battle, and all the artillery was fired, an action which caused great fear to those people. The captain sent a foster-son of his as ambassador to the king of Zubo with the interpreter. When they reached the city, they found a vast crowd of people together with the king, all of whom had been frightened by the mortars. The interpreter told them [270] that that was our custom when entering into such places, as a sign of peace and friendship, and that we had discharged all our mortars to honor the king of the village. The king and all of his men were reassured, and the king had us asked by his governor what we wanted. The interpreter replied that his master was a captain of the greatest king and prince in the world, and that he was going to discover Malucho; [271] but that he had come solely to visit the king because of the good report which he had heard of him from the king of Mazaua, and to buy food with his merchandise. The king told him that he was welcome [*literally*: he had come at a good time], but that it was their custom for all ships that entered their ports to pay tribute, and that it

vno Juncho de Ciama cargato doro et de /chiaui li haueua dato tributo et ꝑ /egnio di que/to li mo/tro vno mer chadante de çiama que era re/tato ꝑ merchadantare oro et /quiaui Lo interprete li di//e como eL /uo /igniore ꝑ e//ere capº de tanto grã re non pagaua tributo ad alguno /igniore deL mondo et /e voleua pace pace ha uerebe et /e non guerra guera Alhoro eL moro merchadante di//e aL re Cata raia chita çioe garba ben /igniore que/ti /onno de qᵉlli q̃ anno conqui/tato Calicut malaca et tuta lindia magiore Si bene /i li fa ben /e a /e male male et pegio como anno facto a calicut et amalaca linterprete Jnte/o lo tuto et di//egli qᵉL re de /uo /igniore era piu potente de gente et de nauj q̃ Lo re de portogalo et era re de /pagnia et Jmperatoꝛ̃ de tuttj li xp̃iani et /e nõ voleua e//erli amicho li mandaria vnaltª fiata tanta gente qᵉL de/truerião iL moro naro ogni co/a aL re alhora li di//e /e con/igliarebe cõ li /ui et nel di /eguente li ri/ponderebe poy fece portare vna colatiõe de molte viuãde tute de carne po/te in piati de porcelane cõ molti vazi di vino data La Colatiõe li no/tⁱ retornoronno et ne di//ero lo tuto iL re de mazaua q̃ era lo pⁱmo dopo que/to re et /igniore de alcante y/olle ando in tera ꝑ dire al re la grande cortezia deL nr̃o capº genneralle.

was but four days since a junk from Ciama [*i.e.*, Siam] laden with gold and slaves had paid him tribute. As proof of his statement the king pointed out to the interpreter a merchant from Ciama, who had remained to trade the gold and slaves. The interpreter told the king that, since his master was the captain of so great a king, he did not pay tribute to any seignior in the world, and that if the king wished peace he would have peace, but if war instead, war. Thereupon, the Moro merchant said to the king *Cata raia chita* that is to say,[272] "Look well, sire." "These men are the same who have conquered Calicut, Malaca, and all India Magiore [*i.e.*, India Major].[273] If they are treated well, they will give good treatment, but if they are treated evil, evil and worse treatment, as they have done to Calicut and Malaca." The interpreter understood it all and told the king that his master's king was more powerful in men and ships than the king of Portogalo, that he was the king of Spagnia and emperor of all the Christians, and that if the king did not care to be his friend [274] he would next time send so many men that they would destroy him. The Moro related everything to the king,[275] who said thereupon that he would deliberate with his men, and would answer the captain on the following day. Then he had refreshments of many dishes, all made from meat and contained in porcelain platters, besides many jars of wine brought in. After our men had refreshed themselves, they returned and told us everything. The king of Mazaua,[276] who was the most influential after that king and the seignior of a number of islands, went ashore to speak to the king of the great courtesy of our captain-general.

Luni matina iL nr̃o /criuão in/ieme cõ linterprete andorono in zubu vene iL re con li /ui principali in piaza et fece /edere li no/tⁱ apre//o lui li di/e /e piu duno capº èra in qz̃/ta compania et /eL voleua lui paga//e tributo aL imperatore /uo Sᵒʳ. ri/po/e de nõ ma voleua /olamente merchadanta/e cõ lui et non con altⁱ di//e q̃ era contento et /eLo capº nr̃o voleua e//ere /uo amicho li manda//e von pocho de /angue deL /uo bracio drito et co//i farebe luy p̨ /egnio de piu vera ami/itia re/po/e q̃ Lo faria poy Lo re li di//e como tucti li capⁱ q̃ veniuão quiui se dauano pñti luno cõ laltº et /e Lo nr̃o capº olui doueua co-men/are linterprete li di//e poy q̃ lui voleua man-tegnire que/to co/tume comincia//e et cu//i comen/o.

Marti matina iL re de mazaua con lo moro venne ale naui /aluto lo capitano gñale da parte diL re et di/celli como iLre de Zubu faceua adunare piu victuuaglia poteua p̨ darnela et como mandarebe dopo di/nare vno /uo nepote con dui otre de /ui principali p̨ fare la pace. lo capº gñale fece armare vno de le /ue p̨prie arme et feceli dire como tuti nuy combateuamo de qᵉlla /orta; iL moro molto /i /pauento iL capº li di//e nõ /i /pauenta//e perche le nr̃e ar me eranno piaceuoli ali amici et

Monday morning, our notary, together with the interpreter, went to Zubu. The king, accompanied by his chiefs, came to the open square where he had our men sit down near him. He asked the notary whether there were more than one captain in that company, and whether that captain wished him to pay tribute to the emperor his master. The notary replied in the negative, but that the captain wished only to trade with him and with no others. The king said that he was satisfied, and that if the captain wished to become his friend, he should send him a drop of blood from his right arm, and he himself would do the same [to him] as a sign of the most sincere friendship.[277] The notary answered that the captain would do it. Thereupon, the king told him that all the captains who came to that place, were wont to give presents one to the other [*i.e.*, mutual presents between the king and the captain], and asked whether our captain or he ought to commence.[278] The interpreter told the king that since he desired to maintain the custom, he should commence, and so he did.[279]

Tuesday morning the king of Mazaua came to the ships with the Moro. He saluted the captain-general in behalf of the king [of Zubu], and said that the king of Zubu was collecting as much food as possible to give to him, and that after dinner he would send one of his nephews and two others of his chief men to make peace. The captain-general had one of his men armed with his own arms, and had the Moro told that we all fought in that manner. The Moro was greatly frightened, but the captain told him not to be frightened for our arms were soft

a/pere ali nemici et co/i como li fazoli a/ciugano yl /udore co/i le nr̃e arme ateranno et de/trugeno tuti li aduer/arj et maleuoli de La nr̃a fede fece que/to acio el moro q̃ pareua e//ere piu a/tuto de li alt^{i} lo dice//e aL re.

Dopo di/nare vene ale naui Lo nipote deL re q̃ era principe coL re de mazaua iL moro iL gouuernatore et iL barizello magiore cõ octo principali p̱ fare La pace con noi Lo cap^{o} gñale /edendo in vna cadedra de veluta ro//a li prin cipali in /edie de corame et li alt^{i} in tera /oura /tore li di//e p̱ Lo interprete /e Lo /uo co/tume era de parlare in /ecreto houero in publico et Se que/to principe col re de mazaua haueuão potere de fare la pace ri/po/ero q̃ parla vano in publico et q̃ co/toro haueuão iL potere de far la pace Lo cap^{o} di//e molte co/e /oura la pace et q^{e}L pregaua ydio la confirma//e in cielo di/cero que may nõ haueuão aldite cotalle parolle et que pigliauão grã piacere a vdir le Vedendo Lo cap^{o} q̃ que/to volenti eri a/coltauão et re-/pondeuão li comincio dire co/e per indurli ala fede: Domando q^{a}L dopo la morte deL re /uccede//e aLa s^{a}. ri/po/e q̃ Lo re nõ haueua figlioli ma figliole et q̃ que/to /uo nipote haueua p̱ moglie la magiore percio era Lo principe et quando li padri et madri eranno vequi non /i honorauão piu mali figlioli li comandauão lo cap^{o} li di//e como ydio fece Lo ciello La terra Lo mare et tucte le alt^{e} co/e et como inpo//e /e

toward our friends and harsh toward our enemies; and as handkerchiefs wipe off the sweat so did our arms overthrow and destroy all our adversaries, and those who hate our faith.[280] The captain did that so that the Moro who seemed more intelligent than the others, might tell it to the king.

After dinner the king's nephew, who was the prince, came to the ships with the king of Mazaua, the Moro, the governor, the chief constable, and eight chiefs, to make peace with us. The captain-general was seated in a red velvet chair, the principal men [281] on leather chairs, and the others on mats upon the floor. The captain-general asked them through the interpreter whether it were their custom to speak in secret or in public, and whether that prince and the king of Mazaua had authority to make peace.[282] They answered that they spoke in public, and that they were empowered to make peace. The captain-general said many things concerning peace, and that he prayed God to confirm it in heaven. They said that they had never heard any one speak such words, but that they took great pleasure in hearing them. The captain seeing that they listened and answered willingly, began to advance arguments to induce them to accept the faith. Asking them who would succeed to the seigniory after the death of the king, he was answered that the king had no sons but only daughters, the eldest of whom was the wife of that nephew of his, who therefore was the prince. [They said that] when the fathers and mothers grew old, they received no further honor, but their children commanded them. The captain told them that God made the sky, the earth, the sea, and everything else,

doue//eno honnorare li padri et madri et q^{i} altramẽte faceua era condempnato neL fuoco eterno et como tuti de/cendeuão de adam et eua no/t^{i} primi parenti et como haueuamo Lanima in mortalle et molte altre co/e pertinenti ala fede tuti alegri li /uplicorono vole//e la/arli dui homini ho aL meno vno acio li amay/tra//e ne La fede et che li farebẽo grande honnore gli re/po/e q̃ alhora nõ poteua la/ciarli alguno ma /e vole uão e//ere xp̃iano Lo prete nr̃o li baptezarebe et q̃ vnalt^{a} fiata menaria preti et frati queli in/egniarebẽo la fede nr̃a ri/po/ero que p^{i}ma voleuão parlare al re et poy diuentarebenno xp̃iani lagrima//emo tuti ꝑ la grande alegreza Lo cap^{o} li di/ce q̃ non ce facero xp̃iani ꝑ paura ne ꝑ compiacerne ma vo lontariamẽte et acoloro q̃ voleuão viuere /econdo la /ua lege nõ li farebe facto di/piacer alguno mali xp̃iani /erianno meglio vi/ti et caregiati q̃ li alt^{i} Tuti gridaronno aduna voce q̃ nõ /e faceuão xp̃iani ꝑ paura ne ꝑ compiacerne ma ꝑ /ua /pontanea volontate Alhora li di//e q̃ /i deuentauão xp̃iani gli La//arebe vna armatura ꝑ che cu//i li era /tato inpo/to deL /uo re et como nõ poteuão vzare cõ le /ue donne e/endo gentilli /enza grandi//imo pecato et como li a/eguraua q̃ e//endo x^{i}ani non li aparerebe piu eL domonio /inon neL ponto extremo de la /ua morte diceno q̃ nõ /apeuano re/ponderli ꝑ le /ue belle parolle ma /e rimeteuano nele /ue

and that He had commanded us to honor our fathers and mothers, and that whoever did otherwise was condemned to eternal fire; that we are all descended from Adam and Eva, our first parents; that we have an immortal spirit;[283] and many other things pertaining to the faith. All joyfully entreated the captain to leave them two men, or at least one,[284] to instruct them in the faith, and [said] that they would show them great honor. The captain replied to them that he could not leave them any men then, but that if they wished to become Christians, our priest would baptize them, and that he would next time bring priests and friars who would instruct them in our faith. They answered that they would first speak to their king, and that then they would become Christians, [whereat] we all wept with great joy. The captain-general told them that they should not become Christians for fear or to please us, but of their own free wills;[285] and that he would not cause any displeasure to those who wished to live according to their own law, but that the Christians would be better regarded and treated than the others. All cried out with one voice that they were not becoming Christians through fear or to please us, but of their own free will. Then the captain told them that if they became Christians, he would leave a suit of armor,[286] for so had his king commanded him; that we could not have intercourse with their women without committing a very great sin, since they were pagans; and that he assured them that if they became Christians, the devil would no longer appear to them except in the last moment at their death.[287] They said that they could not answer the beautiful words of the

manj et face//e de loro como de /oy fideli//imi /eruitori Lo cap° piangendo li abrazo et agiungendo vna mano del principe et vna deL re fra le /ue li di//e ꝑ la fede portaua a dio et alimperatoꝛ̃ /uo /igniore et ꝑ Lo habito q̃ haueua li prometeua q̃ li daua la pace ꝑpe tua col re de/pagnia re/po/ero que lo /imille prometeuão Conelu/a la pace Lo cap° fece dare vna colatiõe poy lo principe et re pre/entarono aL cap° da parte deL /uo re alquanti ce/toni de rizo porci capre et galine et li di/cero li perdona/ce ꝑ cio taL co/e erano pocque avno /imille alui Lo cap° dono aL principe vno panno biancho di tella /otili//ima vno bonnet rozo aL quante felce de chri/talino et vno biquier dorato de vetro. li vetri /onno molto apreciati in que/te parte. AL re di mazaua nõ li deto alguno pñte ꝑ che gia li aueua dato vna ve/te de cambaya con altre co/e et ali altri aq^{i} vna co/a aq^{i} vnalt°. Mando poy aL re de zubu ꝑ mi et vnalt° vna ve/te de /eta gialla et morella aguisa Turche/ca vno bonnet ro/o fino alquante filce de cri/talino po/to ogni co/a in vno piato dargento et dui biqui eri dorati in mano Quando focemo nela cita troua//emo Lo re in /uo palatio cõ molti homini q̃ /e deua in tera /oura vna /tora di palma haueua /ola mente vno panno de tella de bombazo dinanzi ale /ue ỽgonie vno velo intorno lo capo Lauorato aguchia vna Colana aL colo de grã precio due /quione grande de oro tachate ale orecquie cõ petre precio/e atorno era gra//o et picolo et depinto cõ

captain, but that they placed themselves in his hands, and that he should treat them as his most faithful servants. The captain embraced them weeping, and clasping one of the prince's hands and one of the king's between his own, said to them that, by his faith in God and to his sovereign, the emperor, and by the habit which he wore,[288] he promised them that he would give them perpetual peace with the king of Spagnia. They answered that they promised the same. After the conclusion of the peace, the captain had refreshments served to them. Then the prince and the king [of Mazaua] presented some baskets of rice, swine, goats, and fowls to the captain-general on behalf of their king, and asked him to pardon them, for such things were but little [to give] to one such as he. The captain gave the prince a white cloth of the finest linen, a red cap, some strings of glass beads, and a gilded glass drinking cup. Those glasses are greatly appreciated in those districts. He did not give any present to the king of Mazaua, for he had already given him a robe of Cambaya, besides other articles.[289] To the others he gave now one thing and now another. Then he sent to the king of Zubu through me and one other a yellow and violet silk robe, made in Turkish style, a fine red cap, some strings of glass beads, all in a silver dish, and two gilt drinking cups in our hands.[290] When we reached the city we found the king in his palace surrounded by many people. He was seated on a palm mat on the ground, with only a cotton cloth before his privies, and a scarf embroidered with the needle about his head, a necklace of great value hanging from his neck, and two large gold earrings fastened in his ears set round

lo fuocho a diuer/e maniere mangiaua in tera /oura vnalt^{a} /tora oui de bissascutelaza po/ti in dui vazi de porcelañ et haueua dinanzi quat^{o} vazi piennj de vino de palma /erati con erbe odiri fere et ficati catro cannuti con ogni vno cõ que/ti beueua. Facta la debita reuerentia linterprete li di//e como lo /uo /igniore lo rengratiaua molto deL /uo pñte et que li mandaua que/to nõ ꝑ il /uo ma ꝑ lo trin/icho amore li portaua li ve/te//emo la ve/te gli pone//emo iL bonnet in capo et li de//emo le altre co/e et poy ba/andoli vetri et ponendoli /oura lo capo le li pre-/entai et facendo lui eL /imilli li accepto poi iL̄ re ne fece mãgiare de q^{e}lli oui et bere con q^{e}lli canuti li alt^{i} /ui in que/to mezo gli di//ero lo parlam^{to} deL cap^{o} /op^{a} la pace et lo exortamento ꝑ farli xp̃iani iL Re ne volce te ner /echo acene li dice//emo non poteuamo aloro re/tare pigliata la li/entia iL prin-cipe ne meno /eco a ca/a /ua doue /onauano catro fanciulle vna de tamburo amodo nr̃o ma era po/ta in tera Vnalt^{a} daua vno legnio facto alcanto gro//o neL capo con tella de palma in due borquia pichate mo in la vna mo in lalt^{a} Lalt^{a} in vna borquia grande col mede/imo modo. La vltima cõ due brochiete in mão dando luna ne lalt^{a} faceua vno /uaue /onno tanto atempo /onauão que pareua haue//eno grã ra-gion deL canto Que/te eranno a/ay belle et bian que

with precious gems. He was fat and short, and tattooed with fire[291] in various designs. From another mat on the ground he was eating turtle eggs which were in two porcelain dishes, and he had four jars full of palm wine in front of him covered with sweet-smelling herbs and arranged with four small reeds in each jar by means of which he drank.[292] Having duly made reverence to him, the interpreter told the king that his master thanked him very warmly for his present, and that he sent this present not in return for his present but for the intrinsic love which he bore him.[293] We dressed him in the robe, placed the cap on his head, and gave him the other things; then kissing the beads and putting them upon his head, I presented them to him. He doing the same [*i.e.*, kissing them] accepted them. Then the king had us eat some of those eggs and drink through those slender reeds. The others, his men, told him in that place, the words of the captain concerning peace and his exhortation to them to become Christians. The king wished to have us stay to supper with him, but we told him that we could not stay then. Having taken our leave of him, the prince took us with him to his house, where four young girls were playing [instruments] – one, on a drum like ours, but resting on the ground; the second was striking two suspended gongs alternately with a stick wrapped somewhat thickly at the end with palm cloth; the third, one large gong in the same manner; and the last, two small gongs held in her hand, by striking one against the other, which gave forth a sweet sound. They played so harmoniously that one would believe they possessed good musical sense.

ca/i como le no/tre et co/i grande eranno nude /inon q̃ haueuão tella de arbore de la cinta fina aL ginoquio et algune tute nude col pichieto dele orechie grande con vno cerquieto de legnio dentro quelo tene tondo et largo cõ li capeli grandi et negri et cõ vno velo picolo atorno iL capo et /empre di/calce iL principe ne fece balare cõ tre tutte nude merenda//emo et dapoy veni//emo ale naui Que/te borchie /onno de metalo et /e fanno ne La regiõe deL /ignio magno q̃ e detta La China Quiui le vzanno Como nuy le campane et le chiamano aghon.

Mercore matina p̃ e//ere morto vno deli no/tⁱ nella nocte pa//ata linterprete et yo anda//emo adomander aL re doue lo poteriamo /e pelire troua//emo Lo re aCompagniato de molti homini acui facta la debita reueren/ia li lo di//e ri/po/e /e io et li mey va/alli /emo tucti deL tuo /igniore Quãto magiorm^te debe e//ere la terra et li dice como voleuamo con/acrare il luoco et meterlj vna croce ri/po/e que era molto contento et q̃ la voleua adorare como nuy altⁱ fu /epolto lo morto nela piaza aL meglio pote//emo p̃ darli bõ exempio et poy la con/acra//emo /ultardi ne sepeli//emo vno altº porta//emo molta merchantia in terra et la mete//emo in vna ca/a qªL el re Latol/e /oura /ua fede et Quatro homini q̃ eranno re/tati per merchadantare in gro//o. Que/ti populi viueno cõ Ju/titia pe/o et mezura amano la pace lotio et

Those girls were very beautiful and almost as white as our girls and as large. They were naked except for tree cloth hanging from the waist and reaching to the knees. Some were quite naked and had large holes in their ears with a small round piece of wood in the hole, which keeps the hole round and large. They have long black hair, and wear a short cloth about the head, and are always barefoot. The prince had three quite naked girls dance for us. We took refreshments and then went to the ships. Those gongs are made of brass [*metalo*] and are manufactured in the regions about the Signio Magno [294] which is called China. They are used in those regions as we use bells and are called *aghon*.[295]

On Wednesday morning, as one of our men had died during the previous night, the interpreter and I [296] went to ask the king where we could bury him. We found the king surrounded by many men, of whom, after the due reverence was made, I asked it.[297] He replied, "If I and my vassals all belong to your sovereign, how much more ought the land." I told the king that we would like to consecrate the place,[298] and to set up a cross there. He replied that he was quite satisfied, and that he wished to adore the cross as did we. The deceased was buried in the square with as much pomp as possible, in order to furnish a good example. Then we consecrated the place, and in the evening buried another man. We carried a quantity of merchandise ashore which we stored in a house. The king took it under his care as well as four men who were left to trade the goods by wholesale.[299] Those people live in accordance with justice, and have weights and measures. They love

laquiete anno bilancie de legnio lo legnio a vna corda neL mezo cõ Laqª L ſetiene duno capo e piombo et delaltº ſegni como carti terci et librr̃ Quando voleno pezare pigliano la belanſia cñ e cõ tre filli como le nr̃e et la meteno ſoura li ſegni et cuſi peſano Juſto anno mezure grandi//ime ſenza fondo le Jouane Jogano de Zampognia fate Como le nr̃e et le chiamano Subin le caſe ſonno de legni de taule et de cane edificate ſopª pali groſſi alti de terra q̃ biſognia andarui dentº cõ ſcalle et anno camare como le nr̃e ſoto le caſe teneno li porci capre et galine ſe trouono quiui corniolli grandi belli aL vedere q̃ amazano le balene leqªlle le Jnguiotano viui Quando loro ſonno neL corpo veneno fuora deL ſuo coperto et li magiano eL core Queſta gente le trouano poi viui apreſſo deL core dele ballenne morte Quenti anno denti la pelle negra iL coperto biancho et La carne Sonno boni da mangiare et le chiamano laghan.

Vennere li moſtra//emo vna botega pienna de le nr̃e merchantie ꝑ ilque reſtoronno molto admirati ꝑ metalle fero et laltª merchantia groſſa ne dauano horo ꝑ le altre menute ne dauão riſo porci et capre cõ altre vi tuualgie Queſti populi ne dauano x peci de oro ꝑ xiiij libre de ferro vno pezo e circo duno ducato emezo Lo capº gñale non volſe ſe piglia//e tropo oro perque ſarebe ſtato alguno marinaro q̃ hauerebe dato tuto Lo ſuo ꝑ vno poco de oro

peace, ease, and quiet. They have wooden balances, the bar of which has a cord in the middle by which it is held. At one end is a bit of lead, and at the other marks like quarter-libras, third-libras, and libras. When they wish to weigh they take the scales which has three wires like ours, and place it above the marks, and so weigh accurately.[300] They have very large measures without any bottom.[301] The youth play on pipes made like ours which they call *subin*. Their houses are constructed of wood, and are built of planks and bamboo, raised high from the ground on large logs, and one must enter them by means of ladders. They have rooms like ours; and under the house they keep their swine, goats, and fowls. Large sea snails [*corniolli*], beautiful to the sight, are found there which kill whales. For the whale swallows them alive, and when they are in the whale's body, they come out of their shells and eat the whale's heart. Those people afterward find them alive near the dead whale's heart. Those creatures have black teeth and skin and a white shell, and the flesh is good to eat. They are called *laghan*.[302]

On Friday we showed those people a shop full of our merchandise,[303] at which they were very much surprised. For metals, iron, and other large merchandise they gave us gold. For the other smaller articles they gave us rice, swine, goats, and other food. Those people gave us x pieces of gold for xiiii libras of iron[304] (one piece being worth about one and one-half ducados). The captain-general did not wish to take too much gold, for there would have been some sailors who would have given all that they owned for a small amount of gold, and would have

et haueria di/conciato Lo trafigo ꝑ semper Sabato ꝑ haueř ꝑme//o Lo re aL capº de far/i xp̃iano ne la dominicha /e fece ne la piaza q̃ era /acrata vno tribunalle adornato de tapi//eria et rami de palma ꝑ baptizarlo et mandoli adire q̃ nella matina nõ haue/e paure dele bombarde per cio era no/tº co/tume ne le fe/te magiore de/caricař /enza pietre.

Domeniga matina a Quatordize de apⁱlle anda/-/emo in terra Quaranta hõj cõ duy homini tucti armati denanzi aLa bandiera realle Quante di/mõ ta//emo /e tira tucta lartigliaria Que/ti populi /iguião diqua et de la Lo capº et lo re /e abraciorono li di//e q̃ la bandera realle nõ /i portaua in terra /inon cõ cinquanta homini Como erano li dui armati et cõ cinquanta /chiopeteri ma ꝑ lo /uo grande amore co/i la haueua portata poi tuti alegri anda//emo pre//o aL tribunalle Lo capº et Lo re /edeuão in cathedre de veluto ro//o et morello li principalli in cu//ini li altⁱ /oura /tore lo Capº di//e aL re ꝑ lo interprete ringratia//e ydio ꝑ cio lo haueua in/pirato a far/e xp̃ano et que vincerebe piu facilmente li /ui nemi/i q̃ prima ri/po/e q̃ voleua e//ere xp̃iano ma alguni /ui principali nõ voleuano ho bedire ꝑ che diceuano e//ere cu//i homini como lui alhora lo nr̃o capº fece chiamare tucti li principali deL re et di//eli /enon hobediuão aL re como /uo re li farebe amazare et daria la /ua roba aL re Ri/po/eno lo

spoiled the trade for ever.[305] On Saturday, as the captain had promised the king to make him a Christian on Sunday, a platform was built in the consecrated square, which was adorned with hangings and palm branches for his baptism. The captain-general sent men to tell the king not to be afraid of the pieces that would be discharged in the morning, for it was our custom to discharge them at our greatest feasts without loading with stones.[306]

On Sunday morning, April fourteen, forty men of us went ashore, two of whom were completely armed and preceded the royal banner.[307] When we reached land all the artillery was fired.[308] Those people followed us hither and thither. The captain and the king embraced. The captain told the king that the royal banner was not taken ashore except with fifty men armed as were those two, and with fifty musketeers; but so great was his love for him that he had thus brought the banner.[309] Then we all approached the platform joyfully. The captain and the king sat down in chairs of red and violet velvet,[310] the chiefs on cushions, and the others on mats.[311] The captain told the king through the interpreter that he thanked God for inspiring him to became a Christian; and that [now] he would more easily conquer his enemies than before. The king replied that he wished to become a Christian, but that some of his chiefs did not wish to obey, because they said that they were as good men as he. Then our captain had all the chiefs of the king called, and told them that, unless they obeyed the king as their king, he would have them killed, and would give their possessions to the king. They replied that they would

hebedirebẽo di//e aL re /e andaua in /pagnia retornarebe vnalt[a] volta cõ tanto potere q̃ lo faria Lo magior re de q[e]lle parte per che era /tato p[i]mo a voler far/e xp̃iano. leuando li many aL ciello Lo rengratio et pregolo alguni de Ly /oy rimane//e açio meglio lui et li /ui populi focero in/tructi nelafede Lo cap° re/po/e que ꝑ Contentarlo li La//arebe duy ma voleua menar /eco dui fanciulli deli principalli acio in para//eno la linga nr̃a et poi aLa ritornato /ape//ero dire aque/ti altri le co/e de/pagnia /e mi//e vna croce grande neL mezo de la piaza Lo cap° li di//e /e/i voleuão far xp̃iani Como haueuão deto nelli giornj pa//ati li bi/ogniaua bru /are tucti li /ui ydoli et neL luoco loro metere vna croce et ogni di cõ le mane Joncte adorarla et ogni matina neL vzo far/i lo /egnio de La croce mo/trandoli como li faceua et ogni hora al meno de matina doue//eno veni re a que/ta croce et adorarla in genoquioni et q[e]L q̃ haueuão Ja deto vole/er̃ cõ le bonne opere confirmarlo el re cõ tucti li alt[i] voleuão confirmare lo tucto lo cap° gñale li di//e como /era ve/tito tuto de biancho ꝑ mo/trarli Lo /uo /incero amore ver/o de loro ri/po/ero ꝑ li /ui dolci paroli nõ /aperli re/pondere. Con que/te bonne parolle lo cap° condu//e lo re ꝑ la mão /uL tribunalle ꝑ baptizarlo et

obey him. The captain told the king that he was going to Spagnia, but that he would return again with so many forces that he would make him the greatest king of those regions, as he had been the first to express a determination to become a Christian. The king, lifting his hands to the sky, thanked the captain, and requested him to let some of his men remain [with him], so that he and his people might be better instructed in the faith. The captain replied that he would leave two men to satisfy him, but that he would like to take two of the children of the chiefs with him, so that they might learn our language, who afterward on their return would be able to tell the others the wonders [*cose*] of Spagnia. A large cross was set up in the middle of the square. The captain told them that if they wished to become Christians as they had declared on the previous days, that they must burn all their idols and set up a cross in their place. They were to adore that cross daily with clasped hands, and every morning after their [*i.e.*, the Spaniards'] custom, they were to make the sign of the cross (which the captain showed them how to make); and they ought to come hourly, at least in the morning, to that cross, and adore it kneeling. The intention that they had already declared, they were to confirm with good works. The king and all the others wished to confirm it thoroughly. The captain-general told the king that he was clad all in white to demonstrate his sincere love toward them. They replied that they could not respond to his sweet words. The captain led the king by the hand to the platform while speaking these good words in order to baptize him. He told the king

di//eli /e chiameria don carlo como alinperatoř /uo /igniore aL principe don fernando como aL fratello delinperatoř al Re de mazaua Johanni a vno principalle fernando como iL principalle no/t° çioe Lo cap°. Al moro x°foro poy ali alt^i aq^i vno nome et aq^i vno alt° forenno baptizati inanzi me//a cinque cento hominj Vdita la me//a lo cap° conuito adi/nar /eco lo re cõ altri principali nõ vol/ero ne acompagniarono fina ala riua le naui /caricorono tutte le bombarde et abrazando/e pre//ero Combiatto.

Dopo di/nare il prete et alguni altri anda//emo in terra ꝑ baptizar La reyna laq^a lle venne cõ quaranta dame la conduce//emo /op^a lo tribunalle facendola /edere /oura vno co//ino et lalt^e Zirca ella fin q^eL prete Sapara li mo/tray vno Jmagine de La nřa donna vno bambino di legnio beli//imo et vna croce ꝑ il que li venne vna contrictiõe q̃ piangendo domando lo bate/imo la nomina /emo Johanna como la madre de linperatoř /ua figliola moglie deL principe Catherina la reyna de mazaua lizabeta a le altre ognuna lo /uo nome bap tiza//emo octo cento anime fra homini donne et fanciulli la regina era Jouene et bella tuta coperta duno panno biancho et nero haueua la bocha et le onghie ro/i//ime in capo vno capello grande de foglie de palma amodo de /olana cõ vna coronna in circa de le mede/me foglie como q^ella deL papa ne may va in alguno locho /enza vna de que/te ne demando iL banbino ꝑ

that he would call him Don Carlo, after his sovereign the emperor; the prince, Don Fernando, after the emperor's brother; the king of Mazaua, Johanni; a chief, Fernando, after our chief, that is to say, the captain; the Moro, Christoforo; and then the others, now one name, and now another. Five hundred men were baptized before mass. After the conclusion of mass, the captain invited the king and some of the other chiefs to dinner, but they refused, accompanying us, however, to the shore. The ships discharged all the mortars; and embracing, the king and chiefs and the captain took leave of one another.[312]

After dinner the priest and some of the others went ashore to baptize the queen, who came with forty women. We conducted her to the platform, and she was made to sit down upon a cushion, and the other women near her, until the priest should be ready. She was shown an image of our Lady, a very beautiful wooden child Jesus, and a cross. Thereupon, she was overcome with contrition, and asked for baptism amid her tears.[313] We named her Johanna, after the emperor's mother; her daughter, the wife of the prince, Catherina; the queen of Mazaua, Lisabeta; and the others, each their [distinctive] name. Counting men, women, and children, we baptized eight hundred souls.[314] The queen was young and beautiful, and was entirely covered with a white and black cloth. Her mouth and nails were very red, while on her head she wore a large hat of palm leaves in the manner of a parasol,[315] with a crown about it of the same leaves, like the tiara of the pope; and she never goes any place without such a one.[316] She asked us to give her the little child

tenerlo in locho de li ſoi ydoli et poy ſe parti ſultardi iL re et la reyna cõ aſay//ime perſonne vennerono aL lito lo capº alhora fece tirare molte trombe de fuocho et bombarde gro//e ꝑ ilche pigliaronno grandiſimo piaceř eL capº et lo re ſe chiamanão fratelli Queſto re ſe chiamaua raia humabõ Jnanzi paſa//eno octo giorni forenno baptizati tucti de queſta yſola et dele altre alguni bruſa//emo vna vila ꝑ nõ vollere hobedire aL re ne a noy la qªlle era in vna yſola vicina aqueſta poneſ-ſemo quiui la croce ꝑ que queſti populi eranno gentilli ſe fo//ero ſtato mori li hauere//emo poſto vna colonna in ſegnio de piu dureza ꝑ che li mori ſonno aſay piu duri ꝑ conuertirli cha li gentilli.

Jn queſti giorni lo capº gñalle andaua ogni di in terra ꝑ vdire me//a et diceua aL re molte coſe de La fede La regina vene vno giorno cõ molta pompa ad vdir la me//a tre donzelle li andauão dinanzi con tre de li ſui capelli in mão eLa era veſtita de negro et biancho cõ vno velo grande de ſeta trauerſato cõ liſte de oro in capo q̃ li copriua li ſpalle et cõ Lo ſuo capello aſai//ime donne la ſeguiuão leqªlle erão tute nude et diſcalce ſenon Jntorno le parte ỽgonioſe haueuão vno paniocolo de tella de palma et atorno lo capo vno velo picollo et tucti li capilli ſparſi La regina facta la reuerentia aL altare ſedete ſupª vno coſſino Lauorato di ſeta inanzi ſe comenſa//e la me//a iL capº la ba gnio cõ alquante ſue dame de hacqua roza muſchiata molto

Jesus to keep in place of her idols;[317] and then she went away. In the afternoon,[318] the king and queen, accompanied by numerous persons, came to the shore. Thereupon, the captain had many trombs of fire and large mortars discharged, by which they were most highly delighted.[319] The captain and the king called one another brothers. That king's name was Raia Humabon. Before that week had gone, all the persons of that island, and some from the other islands, were baptized. We burned one hamlet which was located in a neighboring island, because it refused to obey the king or us. We set up the cross there for those people were heathen. Had they been Moros, we would have erected a column there as a token of greater hardness, for the Moros are much harder to convert than the heathen.

The captain-general went ashore daily during those days to hear mass, and told the king many things regarding the faith.[320] One day the queen came with great pomp to hear mass. Three girls preceded her with three of her hats in their hands.[321] She was dressed in black and white with a large silk scarf, crossed with gold stripes thrown over her head, which covered her shoulders; and she had on her hat. A great number of women accompanied her, who were all naked and barefoot, except that they had a small covering of palm-tree cloth before their privies, and a small scarf upon the head, and all with hair flowing free. The queen, having made the due reverence to the altar, seated herself on a silk embroidered cushion. Before the commencement of the mass, the captain sprayed her and some of her women with musk rosewater, for they delighted ex-

/e delectauão de talle odore /apendo Lo cap° q^eL bambino molto piaceua a la reyna liel dono et li di//e Lo tene//e in Locho de li /ui ydoli ꝑ che era in memoria deL figloL de dio ringratiandolo molto lo accepto.

Vno giorno lo cap° gñale inanzi me//a fe//e venire lo re ve/tito cõ la /ua ve/ta de /eta et li principali de la cita iL fradello deL re padre deL principe Se chiamaua bendara vno alt° fratello deL re Cadaio et alguni Simiut /ibuaia Sisacai et maghalibe et molti alt^i que la//o ꝑ non e//ere longo fece tuti q̃/ti Jurare e//ere hobedienti aL /uo re et li ba/aronno la mano poi fece q^eL re de//ere /empre hobediente et fidelle aL re de/pagnia co/i lo Juro alhora iL cap° cauo la /ua /pada inanzi la ymagina de nr̃a donna et di//e aL re Quando co//i /e Juraua piu pre/to doueria/i morire que aromper vno /imiL Juramẽto /iqueL Juraua ꝑ que/ta ymagine ꝑ la vita de limperator̃ /uo s^e. et ꝑ il /uo habito de//erle /empre fidelle facto que/to lo cap° donno aL re vna cathedra de veluta ro//o dicendoli ounque anda//e /emꝑ La face//e portare dinanzi avn /uo piu porpinque et mo/troli Como La /i doueua portare re/po/e Lo farebe volentierj ꝑ amore /uo et di/ce aL cap° Como faceua far vna Joya ꝑ donarlila laq^aL era due /chione doro grande ꝑ tacare ali oreq^ie due ꝑ metere ali brazi Soura li gomedi et due altre ꝑ pore ali piedi /oura le calcagnie et altre petre precio/e ꝑ

ceedingly in such perfumes. The captain knowing that the queen was very much pleased with the child Jesus, gave it to her, telling her to keep it in place of her idols, for it was in memory [322] of the son of God. Thanking him heartily she accepted it.

Before mass one day, the captain-general had the king come clad in his silk robe, and the chief men of the city, [to wit], the king's brother and prince's father, whose name was Bendara; another of the king's brothers, Cadaio; and certain ones called Simiut, Sibuaia, Sisacai, Maghalibe, and many others whom I shall not name in order not to be tedious.[323] The captain made them all swear to be obedient to their king, and they kissed the latter's hand. Then the captain had the king declare that he would always be obedient and faithful to the king of Spagnia, and the king so swore.[324] Thereupon, the captain drew his sword before the image of our Lady, and told the king that when anyone so swore, he should prefer to die rather than to break such an oath,[325] if he swore by that image, by the life of the emperor his sovereign, and by his habit to be ever faithful. After the conclusion of that the captain gave the king a red velvet chair, telling him that wherever he went he should always have it carried before him by one of his nearest relatives; and he showed him how it ought to be carried. The king responded that he would do that willingly for love of him, and he told the captain that he was making a jewel to give to him, namely, two large earrings of gold to fasten [326] in his ears, two armlets to put on his arms, above the elbows, and two other rings for the feet above the ankles, besides other precious

adornare le orechie Que/ti /onno li piu belli adornamẽti po//ano vzare li re de que/te bande liq^{a}lli /empre vano de/calci con vno panno de tella de la cinta fina aL ginochio.

JL cap^{o} gñale vno Jorno di//e al re et ali alt^{i} ꝑ q^{a}L cagionne nõ bruzauão li /oi ydoli como li haueuão ꝑme//o e/endo chri/tiannj et ꝑ che /e Ly /acrificaua tanta Carne ri/po/ero q^{e}L q̃ faceuão non Lo faceuão ꝑ loro ma ꝑ vno infermo açio li ydoli li da//e /alute laq^{a}L non parlaua Ja cat^{o} giorni era fratello deL principe et Lo piu valente et Sauio de La y/olo Lo cap^{o} gli di//e q̃ bru//a/ero le ydoli et crede//eno in chri/to et /e linfermo /e bapti/a//e /ubito garirebe et /e cio nõ foce li taglia//ero Lo capo alhora alhora ri/po/e lo re lo farebe ꝑ che varamẽte credeua in chri/to face//emo vna ꝑce//ione dela piaza fino aLa ca/a de linfermo aL meglio pote//emo oue Lo troua//emo que non poteua parlare ne mouer/e Lo baptiza//emo cõ due /ue mogliere et x donzelle poi lo cap^{o} li fece dire como /taua /ubito parlo et di//e como ꝑ la grac^{a} de nr̃o s^{or}. /taua a//ay benne Que/to fu vno manife//imo miraculo nelli tempi no/t^{i} Quando Lo cap^{o} Lo vdi parlare rengratio molto ydio et aloro li fece beuere vna mandolata q̃ gia laueua facta fare ꝑ lui poi mandogli vno matarazo vno paro de len/oli vna Coperta de panno Jallo et vno cu//ino et ogni giorno fin q̃ fo /anno li mãdo mandolattj acqua ro/a oleo

gems to adorn [327] the ears. Those are the most beautiful ornaments which the kings of those districts can wear. They always go barefoot, and wear a cloth garment that hangs from the waist to the knees.

One day the captain-general asked the king and the other people why they did not burn their idols as they had promised when they became Christians; and why they sacrificed so much flesh to them. They replied that what they were doing was not for themselves, but for a sick man who had not spoken now for four days, so that the idols might give him health. He was the prince's brother, and the bravest and wisest man in the island. The captain told them to burn their idols and to believe in Christ, and that if the sick man were baptized, he would quickly recover; and if that did not so happen they could behead him [*i.e.*, the captain] then and there. Thereupon, the king replied that he would do it, for he truly believed in Christ. We made a procession from the square to the house of the sick man with as much pomp as possible. There we found him in such condition that he could neither speak nor move. We baptized him and his two wives, and x girls. Then the captain had him asked how he felt. He spoke immediately and said that by the grace of our Lord he felt very well. That was a most manifest miracle [that happened] in our times. When the captain heard him speak, he thanked God fervently. Then he made the sick man drink some almond milk, which he had already had made for him. Afterward he sent him a mattress, a pair of sheets, a coverlet of yellow cloth, and a pillow. Until he recovered his health, the captain sent him almond milk, rose-

rozato et algune con/erue de zucaro nõ /tete cinque giorni q^{e}L comincio a andare fece bruzare vno ydolo q̃ teniuão a/co/o certe vecquie in ca/a /ua in p̃ntia deL re et tuto Lo populo et fece di/fare molti tabernacoli ꝑ la riua deL mare neliq^{a}lli mangiauão la carne con/acrata Loro mede/imi Cridarono ca/tiglia ca/tiglia li rouinauão et di//eno /e dio li pre/taua vita bru/arebenno quanti ydoli pote//e trouare et /e benne fu//ero in ca/a deL re. Que/ti ydoli /onno de legnio Concaui /enza li parti de drieto anno Ly brazi aperti et li piedi voltati in /u/o con le gambe aperte et Lo volto grande cõ quat^{o} denti grandi//imj como porci cingiari et /onno tucti depintj

Jn Que/ta ysola /onno molte ville li nomi de leq^{a}lle et deli suoi et deli /ui prin cipali /onno que/ti Cinghapola li /ui principali Cilaton Ciguibucan Cimaningha Cimatichat CicanbuL Vna mandaui iL /uo principalle apanoaan Vna lalan iL /uo principalle theteu Vna lalutan iL /uo principalle Tapan Vna cilumai et vnalt^{a} lubucun Tucti q3/ti ne hobediuão et ne dauão victuuaglia et tributo Apre//o que/ta yzola de zubu ne era vna q̃ /e chiamaua matan laq^{a}L faceua Lo porto doue eramo iL nome dela /ua villa era matan li /ui principali zula et Cilapulapu Quella villa q̃ bruza//emo era in que/ta yzola et Se chiama ua bulaia

Açio que vr̃a ilL^{ma} s^{a} /apia le Cerimonie q̃ vzanno Co/toro in benedire Lo porco primamente Sonano

water, oil of roses, and some sweet preserves. Before five days the sick man began to walk. He had an idol that certain old women had concealed in his house burned in the presence of the king and all the people. He had many shrines along the seashore destroyed,[328] in which the consecrated meat was eaten. The people themselves cried out "Castiglia! Castiglia!" and destroyed[329] those shrines. They said that if God would lend them life, they would burn all the idols that they could find, even if they were in the king's house. Those idols are made of wood, and are hollow, and lack the back parts. Their arms are open and their feet turned up under them with the legs open. They have a large face with four huge tusks like those of the wild boar; and are painted all over.

There are many villages in that island. Their names, those of their inhabitants, and of their chiefs are as follows: Cinghapola, and its chiefs, Cilaton, Ciguibucan, Cimaningha, Cimatichat, and Cicanbul; one, Mandaui, and its chief, Apanoaan; one Lalan, and its chief, Theteu; one, Lalutan, and its chief, Tapan; one Cilumai; and one, Lubucun.[330] All those villages rendered obedience to us, and gave us food and tribute. Near that island of Zubu was an island called Matan, which formed the port where we were anchored. The name of its village was Matan, and its chiefs were Zula and Cilapulapu. That city which we burned was in that island and was called Bulaia.

In order that your most illustrious Lordship may know the ceremonies that those people use in consecrating the swine, they first sound those large

q^{e}lle borchie grandi poi /e porta tre piati grãdj dui cõ roze et fogace de rizo et miglio cote et riuolte in foglie con peche bru/tolato. Lalt^{o} con panne de Cambaia et due banderete di palma Vno pano de Cambaia /e di/tende in terra poi veneno duy femine Vequi//ime cia/cuna con vno tronbonne de cana in mão Quando /onno montate /uL panno fanno reuerentia aL /olle poi /e ve/tenno cõ li pannj Vna /e pone vno faciollo ne La fronte con dui cornj et piglia vnalt^{o} faciolo ne le manj et balando et /unando con q^{e}llo chiama iL /olle lalt^{a} piglia vna de q^{e}lle banderete et balla et /uona col /uo trõbonne ballõ et chiamão cu//i vno pocho fra /e dicendo molte co/e aL /olle Quella deL faciolo piglia lalt^{a} bandereta et la/cio Lo faciolo et ambe due /onando cõ li trombonj gran pezo balanno intorno Lo porco ligato Quella dali corni /empre parla tacitamẽte aL /olle et q^{e}La alt^{a} li ri/ponde poy aq^{e}lla de li corni li e apre/entato vna taça de vino et balando et dicendo certe parolle et lalt^{a} re/pondendoli et facendo vista cat^{o} ho cinque volte de beuere eL vino /parge q^{e}llo /oura eL core deL porcho poy /ubito torna aballare a Que/ta mede/ima vien dato vna lancia Ley vibrandola et dicendo alquante parolle /empre tute due balando et mo/trã do cat^{o} ho cinque volte de dare [de dare: *doublet in original MS.*] cõ la lancia neL core aL porcho con vna /ubbita pre/teza Lo pa//a da parte aparte pre/to /i /era la ferita con erba

gongs.[331] Then three large dishes are brought in; two with roses and with cakes of rice and millet, baked and wrapped in leaves, and roast fish; the other with cloth of Cambaia [332] and two standards made of palm-tree cloth. One bit of cloth of Cambaia is spread on the ground. Then two very old women come, each of whom has a bamboo trumpet in her hand. When they have stepped upon the cloth they make obeisance to the sun. Then they wrap the cloths about themselves. One of them puts a kerchief with two horns on her forehead, and takes another kerchief in her hands, and dancing and blowing upon her trumpet, she thereby calls out to the sun. The other takes one of the standards and dances and blows on her trumpet. They dance and call out thus for a little space, saying many things between themselves to the sun. She with the kerchief takes the other standard, and lets the kerchief drop, and both blowing on their trumpets for a long time, dance about the bound hog. She with the horns always speaks covertly to the sun, and the other answers her. A cup of wine is presented to her of the horns, and she dancing and repeating certain words, while the other answers her, and making pretense four or five times of drinking the wine, sprinkles it upon the heart of the hog. Then she immediately begins to dance again. A lance is given to the same woman. She shaking it and repeating certain words, while both of them continue to dance, and making motions four or five times of thrusting the lance through the heart of the hog, with a sudden and quick stroke, thrusts it through from one side to the other. The wound is quickly stopped [333] with

q^{c}lla q̃ amazato iL porcho ponendo/e vna tor/a acce/a in boca la/morza laq^{a}lle /ta /empre acce/a in que/te Ceremonie Lalt^{a} coL capo deL trombonne bagniandolo neL /angue de porcho va /anguinando coL /uo dito La fronte p^{i}ma ali /oi mariti poy ali alt^{i} ma nõ veñeroño may a noi poy /e di/ue/teno et vano amangiare Quelle co/e q̃ /onno nelli piati et Conuitano Senon femine Lo porcho /i pella cõ lo fuocho /ique ni /uno alt^{o} que Le vequie con/acrano La carne di porcho et nõ La magiauão /e non fo//e morta de que/ta /orte.

Que/ti populi vano nudi portano /olamente vno pezo de tella de palma otorno Le /ue vergonie grandi et picoli hanno pa//ato iL /uo membro circa dela te/ta de luna parte alalt^{a} con vno fero de oro houero de /tanio gro//o como vna penna de ocha et in vno capo et lalt^{o} deL mede/imo fero alguni anno Como vna /tella con ponte /oura li capi alt^{i} como vna te/ta de chiodo da caro a/ai//ime volte Lo vol/i vedere da molti co/i veq^{i} Como Joueni p̨ che nõ lo potteua credere neL mezo dil fero e vn buso p̨ ilq^{a}lle vrinano iL fero et le /telle /emp̃ /tanno ferme Loro diceno q̃ le /ue moglie voleno cu//i et /e fo//ero de altra /orte nõ vzariano cõ elli quando que/ti voleno vzare cõ le femine Loro medi/ime Lo pigliano nõ in ordine et Cominciano pian piano a meter/i dento^{o} p^{i}mo q^{c}lla /tella de /oura et poy Lalt^{a} Quanto edent^{o} diuenta in ordine et cu/i /empre /ta dent^{o} fin que diuenta molle perche altramẽti nõ Lo

grass. The one who has killed the hog, taking in her mouth a lighted torch, which has been lighted throughout that ceremony, extinguishes it.[334] The other one dipping the end of her trumpet in the blood of the hog, goes around marking with blood with her finger first the foreheads of their husbands, and then the others; but they never came to us. Then they divest themselves and go to eat the contents of those dishes, and they invite only women [to eat with them]. The hair is removed from the hog by means of fire. Thus no one but old women consecrate the flesh of the hog, and they do not eat it unless it is killed in this way.[335]

Those people go naked, wearing but one piece of palm-tree cloth about[336] their privies. The males, large and small, have their penis pierced from one side to the other near the head, with a gold or tin bolt as large as a goose quill. In both ends of the same bolt, some have what resembles a spur, with points upon the ends; others are like the head of a cart nail. I very often asked many, both old and young, to see their penis, because I could not credit it. In the middle of the bolt is a hole, through which they urinate. The bolt and the spurs always hold firm. They say that their women wish it so, and that if they did otherwise they would not have communication with them. When the men wish to have communication with their women, the latter themselves take the penis not in the regular way and commence very gently to introduce it [into their vagina], with the spur on top first, and then the other part. When it is inside it takes its regular position; and thus the penis always stays inside until it gets soft, for other-

porianno cauare fuora. Que/ti populi vzanno que/to ꝑche /onno de debille natura anno Quante moglie voleno ma vna principalle Se vno deli nr̃i andaua in tera co/i dedi Como de nocte ogni uno Lo Conuitaua que mangia//e et q^{e}L beue//e Le /ue viuande /onno mezo cote et molto /alate beueno /pe//o et molto con q^{e}lli /ui Cannuti dali valzi et duro cinq3̃ o/ey hore vno /uo mangiare Le donne amauão a/ay piu noy que que/ti atucti da /ey anny in /u apoco apoco li apreno la natura ꝑ cagion de q^{e}lli /ui membrj.

Quando vno deli /ui principali emorto li vzanno que/te Cerimonie p^{i}ma mente tutte le donne principale de la terra vano ala ca/a deL morte in mezo dela ca/a /ta lo morto in vna ca/a in torno la ca/a poneno corde a mo do duno /tecato neliq^{a}li atachano molti ramy de arbore in mezo de ogni ramo e vno panno de bonba/o agui/a de pauigliõe Soto liqualli /edeanno le donne piu principali tute coperte de panne bianq^{i} de bomba/o per vna donzella ꝑ ogni vna q̃ li faceua vento cõ vno /parauentolo di palma le alt^{e} /edeanno intorno la camera me/te poy era vna q̃ tagliaua apoco apoco cõ vno cortello li capilli aL morto vnalt^{a} q̃ era /tata la moglie principale deL morto giaceua /oura lui et giungeua la /ua boca le /ue many et li /ui piedi con q^{e}lli deL morto. Quando q^{e}lla tagliaua li capilj que/ta piangeua et Quando re/taua de tagliarli

wise they could not pull it out. Those people make use of that device because they are of a weak nature. They have as many wives as they wish, but one of them is the principal wife.[337] Whenever any of our men went ashore, both by day and by night, every one invited him to eat and to drink. Their viands are half cooked and very salty. They drink frequently and copiously from the jars [338] through those small reeds, and one of their meals lasts for five or six hours. The women loved us very much more than their own men. All of the women from the age of six years and upward, have their vaginas [*natura*] gradually opened because of the men's penises.[339]

They practice the following ceremonies when one of their chiefs dies. First all the chief [340] women of the place go to the house of the deceased. The deceased is placed in the middle of the house in a box. Ropes are placed about the box in the manner of a palisade, to which many branches of trees are attached. In the middle of each branch hangs a cotton cloth like a curtained canopy. The most principal women sit under those hangings, and are all covered with white cotton cloth, each one by a girl who fans her with a palm-leaf fan. The other women sit about the room sadly.[341] Then there is one woman who cuts off the hair of the deceased very slowly with a knife. Another who was the principal wife of the deceased, lies down upon him, and places her mouth, her hands, and her feet upon those of the deceased. When the former is cutting off the hair, the latter weeps; and when the former finishes the cutting, the latter sings. There are many

que/ta Cantaua atorno la Camera erano molti vazi di porcelanna con fuoco et /up^{a} q^{e}llo mira /torac et belgioui q̃ faceuano olere la ca/a grandemẽte lo teneno in ca/a cinque a/ey giorni cõ Que/te Cerimonie Credo /ia onto de canfora poi Lo /epeli//eno cõ La mede/ima ca/a Serata con quiodi de legnio in vno legnio coperto et circundato de legni. ogni nocte in que/ta cita circa de la meza nocte veniua vno vccelo negri//imo grande Como vno Coruo et nõ era cu//i pre/to ne le ca/e cheL gridaua ꝑ ilque tucti li canj vrlauão et duraua quat^{o} ocinque ore queL /uo gridare et vrlare nõ ne vol/eno may dire la cagiõ de que/to.

Vennere a vinti/ey de aq^{i}lLe Zula principale de q^{e}lla y/ola matan mando vno /uo figliolo con due capre apre/entarle aL cap^{o} gñale et dicendoli Como li mandaua tuta /ua ꝑme//a ma ꝑ cagion de lalt^{o} principalle Cilapulapu q̃ nõ voleua hobedire aL re de/pagnia nõ haueua potuto mandarglila et que neLa nocte /eguente li manda//e /olamente vno batello pienno de homini ꝑ che lui li aiutaria et combateria Lo cap^{o} gñale delibero de andarui cõ tre batelli Lo prega//emo molto nõ vole//e vegnire ma lui Como bon pa/tore non vol/e abandonare lo /uo grege. Ameza nocte /e parti//emo /exanta homini armati de cor/eletti et celade in/ieme col re xp̃iano iL principi et alguni magiori et vinti o trenta ba languai et tre hore inan/i Lo Jorno ariua/-/emo a matan Lo cap^{o} non vol/e Combater alhora mali mando adire ꝑ lo moro /e voleuano hobedire

porcelain jars containing fire about the room, and myrrh, storax, and bezoin, which make a strong odor through the house, are put on the fire. They keep the body in the house for five or six days during those ceremonies. I believe that the body is anointed with camphor. Then they bury the body and the same box which is shut in a log by means of wooden nails and covered and enclosed by logs of wood.[342] Every night about midnight in that city, a jet black bird as large as a crow was wont to come, and no sooner had it thus reached the houses than it began to screech, so that all the dogs began to howl; and that screeching and howling would last for four or five hours,[343] but those people would never tell us the reason of it.

On Friday, April twenty-six, Zula, a chief of the island of Matan,[344] sent one of his sons to present two goats to the captain-general, and to say that he would send him all that he had promised, but that he had not been able to send it to him because of the other chief Cilapulapu, who refused to obey the king of Spagnia. He requested the captain to send him only one boatload of men on the next night, so that they might help him and fight against the other chief. The captain-general decided to go thither with three boatloads. We begged him repeatedly not to go, but he, like a good shepherd, refused to abandon his flock. At midnight, sixty men of us set out armed with corselets and helmets, together with the Christian king, the prince, some of the chief men, and twenty or thirty balanguais. We reached Matan three hours before dawn. The captain did not wish to fight then, but sent a message to the natives by the Moro to the effect that if they would obey the king

aL re de spagnia et recognio/cere Lo re xp̃iano ꝑ /uo s^e^. et darne lo nr̃a tributo li /arebe amicho ma/e voleuano altramente a/specta//eno como feriuão le nr̃e Lance ri/po/ero /e haueuamo lance haueuão lancie de canne bru/tolatte et pali bru/tolate et que nõ anda//emo alhora ad a/altarli ma a/specta/emo veni//e Lo giorno perche /arebenno piu gente. Que/to diceuão açio anda /emo aritrouarli ꝑ che haueuão facto certi fo//i fra le caze ꝑ farne ca/care dent^o^. Venuto Lo giorno /alta//emo ne Lacqua fina ale co//ie caranta noue homini et cu//i anda/-/emo piu de dui trati de bale/t^a^ inanzi pote/ẽo ariuar aL litto li bateli non potereno vegnire piu inanzi ꝑ certe petre q̃ erano neL acqua li alt^i^ vndici homini re/tarono ꝑ gardia de li bateli Quando ariua//emo in terra Que/ta gente haueuão facto tre /cadrony de piu de mille cinque cento ꝑ/onne /ubito /entendone ne venirono a do//o con voci grandi//imi dui ꝑ fiancho et Lalt^o^ ꝑ contro. Lo cap^o^ quã do vi/te que/to ne fece dui parti et co/i comincia//emo a Combater li /quiopeti et bale/tieri tirarano da longi ca/i meza hora in vano /ola mente pa//andoli li targoni facti de tauole /otille et li brazi Lo capp^o^ gridaua nõ tirare nõ tirare ma non li valeua niente. Quando que/ti vi/tenno que tirauamo li /quiopeti in vano gridando deliborono a /tar forte ma molto piu gridauão Quando erano de/carigati li /quiopeti

of Spagnia, recognize the Christian king as their sovereign, and pay us our tribute, he would be their friend; but that if they wished otherwise, they should wait to see how our lances wounded.[345] They replied that if we had lances they had lances of bamboo and stakes hardened with fire. [They asked us] not to proceed to attack them at once, but to wait until morning, so that they might have more men. They said that in order to induce us to go in search of them; for they had dug certain pitholes between the houses in order that we might fall into them. When morning came forty-nine of us leaped into the water up to our thighs, and walked through water for more than two crossbow flights before we could reach the shore. The boats could not approach nearer because of certain rocks in the water. The other eleven men remained behind to guard the boats. When we reached land, those men had formed in three divisions to the number of more than one thousand five hundred persons. When they saw us, they charged down upon us with exceeding loud cries, two divisions on our flanks and the other on our front. When the captain saw that, he formed us into two divisions, and thus did we begin to fight. The musketeers and crossbowmen shot from a distance for about a half-hour, but uselessly; for the shots only passed through the shields which were made of thin wood and the arms [of the bearers]. The captain cried to them, "Cease firing! cease firing!" but his order was not at all heeded. When the natives saw that we were shooting our muskets to no purpose, crying out they determined to stand firm, but they redoubled their shouts. When our muskets were discharged, the na-

may nõ /tauano fermi /altando dequa et dela coperti con li /ui targonj ne tirauão tante frechie Lance de canna alguno di fero aL cap° gñalle pali pontini bru/tolati pietre et Lo fango apena /e poteuão defendere. Vedendo que/to Lo cap° gñale mando alguni abru/are le /ue ca/e per /pauentarli Quando que/ti vi/tenno bruzare le /ue caze deuentorono piu fero ci apre//o de le ca/e forenno amazati dui deli nrj et vinti o trenta ca/e li bru/a//emo ne venirono tanti ado//o q̃ pa//arono cõ vna freza ve nenata La gamba drita aL cap° per il que comando q̃ /e retira/-/emo a poco apoco ma loro fugirono /ique re/ta/-/emo da /ey o octo cõ lo capitanio Que/ti non ne tirauão in alt° /inon ale gambe per q̃ erano nude ꝑ tante Lancie et pedre q̃ ne trahevano non pote//emo re/i/tere le bombarde de li batelli ꝑ e//ere tropo longui nõ ne poteuão ajutare /iche veni//emo retirando/i piu de vna bonna bale/trata longi de la riua /empre comba tendo ne lacque fin aL ginoquio /empre ne /eguitoro et repigliando vna mede/ima Lancie quat° o/ey volte ne La Lanciauano que/ti Connio//endo Lo cap° tanti /i voltorono /op[a] de lui q̃ dui volte li botarono lo celadõe fora deL capo ma lui como bon Caualiero /empre /taua forte cõ alguni alt[i] piu de vno hora co//i combate//emo et non volendo/i piu retirare vno indio li lancio vna lanza di cana deL vizo lui /ubito cõ la /ua Lancia Lo amazo et la/ciolila neL corpo poy volendo dar de

tives would never stand still, but leaped hither and thither, covering themselves with their shields. They shot so many arrows at us and hurled so many bamboo spears (some of them tipped with iron) at the captain-general, besides pointed stakes hardened with fire, stones, and mud, that we could scarcely defend ourselves. Seeing that, the captain-general sent some men to burn their houses in order to terrify them. When they saw their houses burning, they were roused to greater fury. Two of our men were killed near the houses, while we burned twenty or thirty houses. So many of them charged down upon us that they shot the captain through the right leg with a poisoned arrow. On that account, he ordered us to retire slowly, but the men took to flight, except six or eight of us who remained with the captain. The natives shot only at our legs, for the latter were bare; and so many were the spears and stones that they hurled at us, that we could offer no resistance. The mortars in the boats could not aid us as they were too far away. So we continued to retire for more than a good crossbow flight from the shore always fighting up to our knees in the water. The natives continued to pursue us, and picking up the same spear four or six times, hurled it at us again and again. Recognizing the captain, so many turned upon him that they knocked his helmet off his head twice, but he always stood firmly like a good knight, together with some others. Thus did we fight for more than one hour, refusing to retire farther. An Indian hurled a bamboo spear into the captain's face, but the latter immediately killed him with his lance, which he left in the Indian's body. Then, try-

mano a La /pada non puote cauarla /enon meza per vna ferita de canna haueua neL brazo Quando vi/teno que/to tuti andorono ado//o alui vno cõ vno grã terciado che e como vna /imitara ma piu gro//o li dete vna ferita nelagamba /ini/tra ꝑ Laqªlle ca/co coL volto inanzi subito li foreno ado//o con Lancie de fero et de cana et con qᵉlli /ui terciadi fin que iL /pechio iL lume eL conforto et la vera guida nr̃a amazarono Quando lo feriuão molte volte /e volto indrieto ꝑ vedere /e eramo tucti dentº neli bateli poi vedendolo morto aL meglio pote/emo feriti /e ritra//emo ali batelli q̃ gia /e partiuão Lo re xp̃iano ne hauereba ajutato ma Lo capº inanzi di/monta//emo in tera li comi//e non /i doue//e partire dal /uo balanghai et /te//e auedere in que modo Combateuão Quando lo re /epe como era morto piance /e non era que/to pouero capº niuno de noy Si /aluaua neli bateli ꝑ che Quando lui Combateua li altⁱ /e retiravão ali batelli. Spero in vr̃a IlLᵐᵃ sª La fama duno /i genero/o capº non debia e//ere extinta neli tempi no/tⁱ fra le altre vertu q̃ eranno in lui era Lo piu Co/tante in vna grandi//ima fortuna q̃ may alguno altº fo//e /upõ taua la fame piu q̃ tucti li altⁱ et piu Ju/tamente q̃ homo fo//e aL mondo carteaua et nauigaua et /e Que/to fu iL vero /e ve de aperta mente ninguno altº haueṽ auuto tanto

ing to lay hand on sword, he could draw it out but halfway, because he had been wounded in the arm with a bamboo spear. When the natives saw that, they all hurled themselves upon him. One of them wounded him on the left leg with a large cutlass,[346] which resembles a scimitar, only being larger. That caused the captain to fall face downward, when immediately they rushed upon him with iron and bamboo spears and with their cutlasses, until they killed our mirror, our light, our comfort, and our true guide. When they wounded him, he turned back many times to see whether we were all in the boats. Thereupon, beholding him dead, we, wounded, retreated, as best we could, to the boats, which were already pulling off. The Christian king would have aided us, but the captain charged him before we landed, not to leave his balanghai, but to stay to see how we fought. When the king learned that the captain was dead, he wept. Had it not been for that unfortunate captain, not a single one of us would have been saved in the boats, for while he was fighting the others retired to the boats. I hope through [the efforts of] your most illustrious Lordship that the fame of so noble a captain will not become effaced in our times. Among the other virtues which he possessed, he was more constant than ever any one else in the greatest of adversity. He endured hunger better than all the others, and more accurately than any man in the world did he understand sea charts [347] and navigation. And that this was the truth was seen openly, for no other had had so much natural talent

Jngenio ni ardire de /aper dar vna volta aL mondo como Ja cazi lui haueua dato. Que/ta bataglia fo facta aL Sabato vinti/ete de apⁱlle 1521. iL capº La vol/e fare in /abato ꝑ q̃ era lo giorno /uo deuoto nelaqªlle foreno morti con lui octo de li nr̃i et catº Jndij facto xp̃iani dale bombarde deli bateli q̃ eranno da poy venutj ꝑ aiutarne et deli nimici Se non Quindici ma molti de noy feriti.

Dopo di/nare le re xp̃iano mando adire cõ Lo no/tº con/entimẽto aquelli de matan se ne voleuão dare lo capº con li altⁱ morti q̃ li dare//emo Quanta merchadantia vole//ero ri/po/ero non /i daua vno taL homo como pen/auamo et q̃ non Lo darebenno ꝑ la magior riche//a deL mondo ma lo voleuano tenire ꝑ memoria /ua.

Sabato q̃ fo morto Lo capº qᵉlli catº q̃ /tauano nela cita ꝑ merchadantare fecero portare le no/tre merchantie alle naui poy face//emo dui gu bernatori duarte barboza portugue/e parente deL capº. et Johã /eranno /pagniolo linterprete nr̃o q̃ /e chiamaua henrich ꝑ e//ere vno poco ferito nõ andaua piu in terra ꝑ fare le co/e nr̃e nece//arie ma /taua /empre ne La /quiauina ꝑ ilque duarte barbo/a guuernatoꝛ̃ de la naue capª li grido et di//egli /e benne e morto Lo capº /uo sᵉ. ꝑ que/to non era libero anzi voleua

nor the boldness to learn how to circumnavigate the world, as he had almost done. That battle was fought on Saturday, April twenty-seven, 1521.[348] The captain desired to fight on Saturday, because it was the day especially holy to him. Eight of our men were killed with him in that battle,[349] and four Indians, who had become Christians and who had come afterward to aid us were killed by the mortars of the boats. Of the enemy, only fifteen were killed, while many of us were wounded.

In the afternoon the Christian king sent a message with our consent to the people of Matan, to the effect that if they would give us the captain and the other men who had been killed, we would give them as much merchandise as they wished. They answered that they would not give up such a man, as we imagined [they would do], and that they would not give him for all the riches in the world, but that they intended to keep him as a memorial.[350]

On Saturday, the day on which the captain was killed, the four men who had remained in the city to trade, had our merchandise carried to the ships. Then we chose two commanders, namely, Duarte Barboza,[351] a Portuguese and a relative of the captain, and Johan Seranno, a Spaniard.[352] As our interpreter, Henrich by name, was wounded slightly, he would not go ashore any more to attend to our necessary affairs, but always kept his bed. On that account, Duarte Barboza, the commander of the flagship, cried out to him and told him, that although his master, the captain, was dead, he was not therefore free; on the contrary he [*i.e.*, Barboza] would see

Quando fo//emo ariuati in e/pagnia /empre fo//e /chiauo de ma dona beatrice moglie deL cap° gñale et minaciandoli /e non anda ua in terra Lo frustaria Lo /chiauo /i leuo et mo/tro de non far cõto de que/te parolle et ando in tera adire al re xp̃iano Como /e voleuão partire pre/to ma /e lui voleua far a /uo modo gadaneria li naue et tucte le nr̃e merchadantie et cu//i ordinorono vno tradimento Lo /quiauo retorno ale naue et mo/tro e//ere piu /acente que p^{i}ma

Mercore matina p^{i}mo de magio Lo re xp̃ono mando adire ali gouuernatory Como erano preparate le gioie haueua ꝑme//o de mandare aL re de/pagnia et que li pregaua cõ li alt^{i} /oi anda/ero di/inare /echo q^{e}lla matina q̃ li la darebe andorono 24 homini in tera cõ que/ti ando Lo nr̃o a/trologo che /e chiamaua s. martín de siuilla yo non li pote andare ꝑ che era tuto infiato per vna ferita de freza venenata che haueua nela fronte Jouan caruaio cõ Lo barizello tornorono indietro et ne di/cero como vi/teno colui re/a nato ꝑ miracolo menare Lo prete aca/a /ua et ꝑ que/to /eranno partittj per che dubitauão de q^{a}lque malle nõ di//ero co/i pre/to le parolle que /enti//imo grã gridi et Lamenti /ubito leua//emo lanchore et tirando molte bombarde nele ca/e ne ꝑpinqua//emo piu ala terra et cu//i tirãdo vede//emo Johã /eranno in camiza ligato et ferito gridare nõ doue//emo piu tirare per che Lamazarebenno li

to it that when we should reach Espagnia, he should still be the slave of Doña Beatrice, the wife of the captain-general.[353] And threatening the slave that if he did go ashore, he would be flogged, the latter arose, and, feigning to take no heed to those words, went ashore to tell the Christian king [354] that we were about to leave very soon, but that if he would follow his advice, he could gain the ships and all our merchandise. Accordingly they arranged a plot, and the slave returned to the ship, where he showed that he was more cunning [355] than before.

On Wednesday morning, the first of May, the Christian king sent word to the commanders that the jewels [356] which he had promised to send to the king of Spagnia were ready, and that he begged them and their other companions to come to dine with him that morning, when he would give them the jewels. Twenty-four men went ashore, among whom was our astrologer, San Martín de Sivilla. I could not go because I was all swollen up by a wound from a poisoned arrow which I had received in my face. Jovan Carvaio and the constable [357] returned, and told us that they saw the man who had been cured by a miracle take the priest to his house.[358] Consequently, they had left that place, because they suspected some evil. Scarcely had they spoken those words when we heard loud cries and lamentations. We immediately weighed anchor and discharging many mortars into the houses, drew in nearer to the shore. While thus discharging [our pieces] we saw Johan Seranno in his shirt bound and wounded, crying to us not to fire any more, for the natives would kill

domanda//emo /e tucti li alt^{i} con lo interprete erano morti di//e tucti erano morti /aluo linterprete ne prego molto Lo doue//emo re/catare cõ q^{a}lque merchadantia ma Johã caruiao /uo compare non vol/ero ꝑ re/tare loro patronj anda//e Lo batello in tera Ma Johan /eranno pur piangendo ne di//e q̃ nõ hauere//emo co/i pre/to facto vella q̃ lauerianno amazato et di//e q̃ pregaua ydio neL Jorno deL Juditio dimanda//e Lanima /ua a Johan caruiao /uo compadre /ubito /e parti//emo nõ /o /e morto o viuo lui re/ta//e.

Jn que/ta yzola /e troua cani gati rizo millio panizo /orgo gengero figui neranzi limone Canne dolci agio meL cochi chiacare zuche carne de molte /orte vino de palma et oro et e grande y/ola con vno bon porto q̃ a due intrate vna aL ponente lalt^{a} aL grego et leuante /ta de Latitudine aL polo articho in x gradi de longitudine de la linea de la repartitiõe cento /exanta cat^{o} gradi et /e chiama Zubu Quiui inanzi q̃ mori//e lo cap^{o} genneralle haue//emo noua de malucho Que/ta gente /onano de viola cõ corde de ramo.

Vocabuli de que/ti populi gentili.

AL homo:	lac
ALa donna	paranpaon
ALa Jouene	beni beni
Ala maritata	babay

him.[359] We asked him whether all the others and the interpreter were dead. He said that they were all dead except the interpreter. He begged us earnestly to redeem him with some of the merchandise; but Johan Carvaio, his boon companion, [and others] would not allow the boat to go ashore so that they might remain masters of the ships.[360] But although Johan Serrano weeping asked us not to set sail so quickly, for they would kill him, and said that he prayed God to ask his soul of Johan Carvaio, his comrade, in the day of judgment, we immediately departed. I do not know whether he is dead or alive.[361]

In that island are found dogs, cats, rice, millet, panicum, sorgo, ginger, figs [*i.e.*, bananas], oranges, lemons, sugarcane, garlic, honey, cocoanuts, nangcas,[362] gourds, flesh of many kinds, palm wine, and gold.[363] It is a large island, and has a good port with two entrances – one to the west and the other to the east northeast.[364] It lies in x degrees [365] of latitude toward the Arctic Pole, and in a longitude of one hundred and sixty-four [366] degrees from the line of demarcation. Its name is Zubu. We heard of Malucho there before the death of the captain-general. Those people play a violin with copper strings.

Words of those heathen people

For Man	lac
for Woman	paranpaon
for Young woman	beni beni
for Married woman	babay

Ali capilli	bo ho
AL vizo	guay
Ale palpebre	pilac
Ale ciglie	chilei.
Al ocquio	matta.
AL nazo	Jlon.
Ale ma//elle	apin
Ali labri	oloL.
A la bocca	baba.
A li denti	nipin
Ale gengiue	leghex.
Ala linga	dilla
Alle orechie	delengan.
Ala gola	liogh.
AL collo	tangip
AL mento	q̃ilan.
ALa barba	bonghot
Ale /palle	bagha.
A la /chena	licud.
AL peto	dughan
AL corpo	tiam
Soto li braci	Jlot
AL bracio	botchen
AL gomedo	/ico
AL pol/o	molanghai
ALa mano	camat
A la palma de la man	palan
AL dito	dudlo
Ala ongia	coco
AL Lombelico	pu/ut
AL membro	vtin
Ali te/ticoli	boto

for Hair	boho
for Face	guay
for Eyelids	pilac
for Eyebrows	chilei
for Eye	matta
for Nose	ilon
for Jaws	apin
for Lips	olol
for Mouth	baba
for Teeth	nipin
for Gums	leghex
for Tongue	dilla
for Ears	delengan
for Throat	liogh
for Neck	tangip
for Chin	queilan
for Beard	bonghot
for Shoulders	bagha
for Spine	licud
for Breast	dughan [367]
for Body	tiam
Armpit	ilot
for Arm	botchen
for Elbow	sico
for Pulse	molanghai
for Hand	camat
for the Palm of the hand	palan
for Finger	dudlo
for Fingernail	coco
for Navel	pusut
for Penis	utin
for Testicles	boto

Ala natura de le donne	billat
AL vzar cõ loro	Jiam
Ale cullate	ſamput
Ala coſsa	paha
AL ginochio	tuhud.
AL Schincho	baſsag baſsag
ALa polpa de la gamba	bitis
ALa cauechia	bolboL
AL calcagnio	tiochid
Ala ſolla deL pie	Lapa lapa
AL horo	balaoan
AL argento	pilla
AL Laton	concach
AL fero	butan
Ale canne dolce	tube
AL cuchiaro	gandan
AL rizo	bughax baras
AL melle	deghex
ALa cera	talho
AL ſalle	acin
AL vino	tuba nio nipa
AL bere	MinuncubiL
AL mangiare	maCan.
AL porcho	babui
ALa capra	candin
ALa galina	monoch
AL miglio	humas
AL ſorgo	batat
AL panizo	dana
AL peuere	maniſſa
Ali garofoli	chianche.

for Vagina [368]	billat
for to have Communication with women	jiam
for Buttocks	samput
for Thigh	paha
for Knee	tuhud
for Shin	bassag bassag [369]
for Calf of the leg	bitis
for Ankle	bolbol
for Heel	tiochid
for Sole of the foot	lapa lapa
for Gold	balaoan
for Silver	pilla
for Brass	concach
for Iron	butan
for Sugarcane	tube
for Spoon	gandan
for Rice	bughax baras
for Honey	deghex
for Wax	talho
for Salt	acin
for Wine	tuba nio nipa
for to Drink	minuncubil
for to Eat	macan
for Hog	babui
for Goat	candin
for Chicken	monoch
for Millet	humas
for Sorgo	batat
for Panicum	dana [370]
for Pepper	manissa
for Cloves	chianche

ALa Cannella	mana.
AL gengero	luia
AL ayo	Laxuna
Ali naran/i	ac/ua
AL ouo	/ilog
AL coco	lubi.
AL acceto	zlucha
AL acqua	tubin
AL fuoco	Clayo.
AL fumo	assu.
AL /ofiare	tigban.
Alle belancie	tinban
AL pezo	tahiL
Ala perla	mutiara.
Ale madre de le perle	tipay.
Ala zampognia	Subin
AL mal de s^{to} Job.	Alupalan
portame	palatin comorica
Acerte fogacie de rizo	tinapai
buono	main
Nõ	ti da le
AL cortello	capol /undan
Ale forfice	catle
A tosare	chunthinch
AL homo ben hornato	pixao
Ala tella	balandan
A li panni q̃ /e copreno	Abaca
AL conaglio	colon colon
Ali pater nr̃j dogni /orte	tacle

for Cinnamon	mana
for Ginger	luia
for Garlic	laxuna
for Oranges	acsua
for Egg	silog
for Cocoanut	lubi
for Vinegar	zlucha
for Water	tubin
for Fire	clayo
for Smoke	assu
for to Blow	tigban
for Balances	tinban
for Weight	tahil [371]
for Pearl	mutiara
for Mother of pearl	tipay
for Pipe [a musical instrument]	subin
for Disease of St. Job	alupalan [372]
Bring me	palatin comorica
for certain Rice cakes	tinapai [373]
Good	main
No	tidale
for Knife	capol, sundan
for Scissors	catle
To shave	chunthinch
for a well adorned Man	pixao
for Linen	balandan
for the cloth with which they cover themselves	abaca
for hawk'sbell	coloncolon [374]
for Pater nosters of all classes	tacle

AL petine	cutlei mi/samis
AL pentinare	monssughud.
ALa Camiza	Sabun.
ALa gugia de co/ire	daghu
AL cu/ire	mamis
A La porcelana	mobuluc
AL cana	aian ydo
AL gato	epos.
Ali /ui veli	gapas
Ali cri/talini	balus
Vien q^{i}	marica
Ala caza	Jlaga balai
AL legniame	tatamue
Alle /tore doue dormeno	Tagichan
Ale /tore de palma	bani
Ale cu//ini de foglie	Vliman
A li piati de legnio	dulan
AL /uo ydio	Abba.
AL /olle	adlo
ALa luna	/onghot
Ala /tela	bolan bunthun.
ALa aurora	mene
Ala matina	vema
Ala taza	tagha
grande	ba/saL
AL archo	bo/sugh.
ALa freza	oghon.
Ali targoni	cala/san.
A le ve/te inbotide p combater	baluti
Ale /ue daghe	calix baladao

for Comb	cutlei, missamis
for to Comb	monssughud
for Shirt	sabun
for Sewing-needle	daghu
for to Sew	mamis
for Porcelain	mobuluc
for Dog	aian, ydo
for Cat	epos
for their Scarfs	gapas
for Glass Beads	balus
Come here	marica
for House	ilaga, balai
for Timber	tatamue
for the Mats on which they sleep	tagichan
for Palm-mats	bani
for their Leaf cushions	uliman
for Wooden platters	dulan
for their God	abba
for Sun	adlo
for Moon	songhot
for Star	bolan, bunthun
for Dawn	mene
for Morning	uema
for Cup	tagha
Large	bassal
for Bow	bossugh
for Arrow	oghon
for Shields	calassan
for Quilted garments used for fighting	baluti
for their daggers	calix, baladao

Ali ſui tertiadi	Campilan.
A la Lancia	bancan.
El talle	tuan.
Ali figui	ſaghin
Ale zuche	baghin
Ale corde dele ſue violle	gotzap
AL fiume	tau.
AL riſaio ꝑ peſcare	pucat laia
AL batello	ſampan.
A le canne grande	cauaghan.
Ale picole	bonbon.
Ale ſue barche grande	balanghai
Ale ſue barque picolle	boloto
Ali granci	Cuban
AL peſce	Jcam yſſida
A vno peſcie tuto depinto	panap ſapã
A vno altº roſſo	timuan.
A vno certo altº	pilax
A vno altº	emaluan.
Tuto e vno	Siama siama.
A vno ſchiauo	bonſuL
A la forca	bolle
ALa naue	benaoa
A vno re o capº gñale	raia.

Numero:

Vno	Vzza

for their Cutlasses	campilan
for Spear	bancan
for Like	tuan
for Figs [*i.e.*, bananas]	saghin
for Gourds	baghin
for the Cords of their violins	gotzap
for River	tau
for Fishing-net	pucat, laia
for small Boat	sampan
for large Canes	cauaghan
for the small ones	bonbon
for their large Boats	balanghai
for their small Boats	boloto [875]
for Crabs	cuban
for Fish	icam, yssida
for a Fish that is all colored	panapsapan
for another red [Fish]	timuan
for a certain other [kind of Fish]	pilax
for another [kind of Fish]	emaluan
All the same	siama siama
for a Slave	bonsul
for Gallows	bolle
for Ship	benaoa
for a King or Captain-general	raia
Numbers	
One	uzza

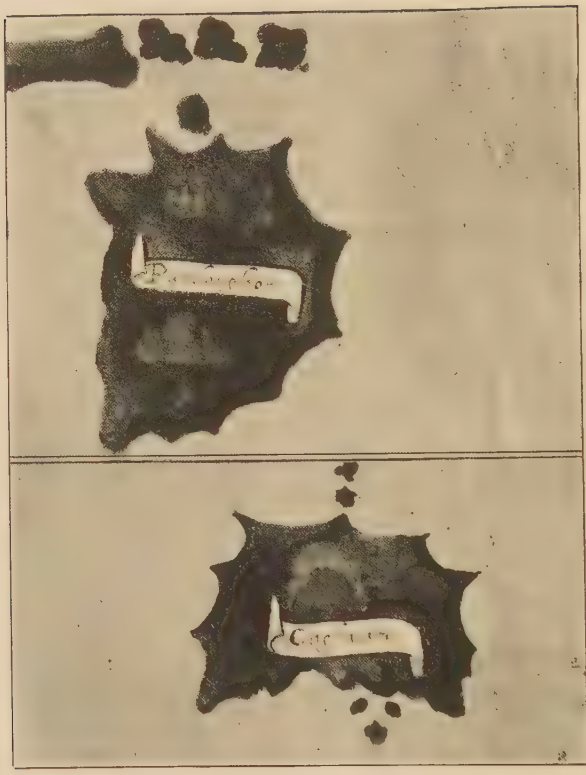
duy	dua
tre	tolo.
Quatº	vpat
Cinque	lima
Sey	onom
Sette	pitto
octo	gualu
Noue	Ciam.
Diece	polo.

Longi dizodoto legue de que/ta y/ola zzubu aL capo de qᵉLa altª q̃ /e chiama bohol bruza//emo in mezo de que/to arcipelago la naue conceptiõe per e//ere re/tati tropo pochi et forni//emo le altre due de le co/e /ue megliore pi glia//emo poy la via deL garbin et mezo di co/tando la Jzola q̃ /i di/e panilongon nela qªlle /onno homini negⁱ Como in etiopia poy ariua/ẽo a vna y/ola grande Lo re delaqªlle ꝑ fare pace cõ noy Se cauo /angue de La mano /ini/tra /anguinando/e lo corpo Lo volto et la cima de la linga in /egnio de magior amiti/ia co/i face//emo ancho nui Jo /olo anday cõ Lo rey in tera ꝑ vedere Que/ta y/ola /ubito q̃ Jntra//emo in vno fiume molti pe/catori pre/entarono pe/ce al re poy lo re /e cauo li pannj que haueua intorno le /ue ỽgonie cõ alguni /ui principali et cantando Co minciorono a vogare pa//ando ꝑ molti habitationi q̃ erano /oura Lo fiume ariua//emo a due hore de nocte in ca/a /ua daL principio de q3/to fiume doue e/tauamo le naui fino a ca/a del re erão due legue entrãdo nela ca/a ne venirono incontra molte torcie de canna et de foglie de palma Que/te torcie erano de

two	dua
three	tolo
four	upat
five	lima
six	onom
seven	pitto
eight	gualu
nine	ciam
ten	polo [376]

In the midst of that archipelago,[377] at a distance of eighteen leguas from that island of Zzubu, at the head of the other island called Bohol, we burned the ship "Conceptione," for too few men of us were left [to work it].[378] We stowed the best of its contents in the other two ships, and the laid our course toward the south southwest, coasting along the island called Panilongon,[379] where black men like those in Etiopia live. Then we came to a large island [Mindanao], whose king in order to make peace with us, drew blood from his left hand marking his body, face, and the tip of his tongue with it as a token of the closest friendship, and we did the same. I went ashore alone with the king in order to see that island. We had no sooner entered a river than many fishermen offered fish to the king. Then the king removed the cloths which covered his privies, as did some of his chiefs; and began to row while singing past many dwellings which were upon the river. Two hours after nightfall we reached the king's house. The distance from the beginning of the river where our ships were to the king's house, was two leguas. When we entered the house, we came upon many torches of cane and palm leaves,[380] which were of the *anime*,

anime Como li dete de soura fin q̃ ſe aparechio la cene lo re con dui principali et due ſue femine belle beue rono vno grã vazo de vino pienno de palma ſenza mangiare niente Jo eſcuſandomi hauere cennato non volce berre ſinon vna volta beuendo faceuazão tute le cerimonie Como eL re de mazaua venne poy La Cena de rizo et peſcie molto ſalato poſto in ſcutelle de porcelana mangiauão lo rizo ꝑ panne Cocono Lo rizo in queſto modo prima meteno dentº in pigniate de terra como le nr̃e vna fogla grande che circunda tuta la pigniata poy li meteno lacque et iL rizo coprẽdola la laſciano bugliere fin q̃ venne lo rizo duro como panne poi Lo cauano fuora in pezi in tucte queſte parte cocono Lo rizo in queſta ſorte Cenato q̃ haueſſemo Lo re fece portare vna ſtora de canne con vnaltª de palma et vna cucino de foglie açio yo dormiſſe ſoura queſte iL re con le due femine ando a dormire in vno luoco ſeparato dormi cõ vno ſuo principali Venuto il giorno mentre ſe aparechio Lo diſnare anday ꝑ queſta izolla vidi in queſte loro caſe aſſay maſſaritie de oro et poca victuuaria poy diſnaſſemo rizo et peſcie finito Lo diſnare dice aL [re] con ſegni vederia La reyna me reſpoſe era contento andaſſemo de Compania in çima duno alto monte doue era la caſa de la reyna Quando entray in caſa Le fece la reuerentia et ley coſſi verſo de me ſedeti apreſſo a ella Laqªlle faceua vna ſtora de palma ꝑ dormire ꝑ La caſa ſua eraño atacati molti vazi de porcelana et Quatro



of which mention was made above. Until the supper was brought in, the king with two of his chiefs and two of his beautiful women drank the contents of a large jar of palm wine without eating anything. I, excusing myself as I had supped, would only drink but once. In drinking they observed all the same ceremonies that the king of Mazaua did. Then the supper, which consisted of rice and very salt [381] fish, and was contained in porcelain dishes, was brought in. They ate their rice as if it were bread, and cook it after the following manner. They first put in an earthen jar like our jars, a large leaf which lines all of the jar. Then they add the water and the rice, and after covering it allow it to boil until the rice becomes as hard as bread, when it is taken out in pieces. Rice is cooked in the same way throughout those districts.[382] When we had eaten, the king had a reed mat and another of palm leaves, and a leaf pillow brought in so that I might sleep on them. The king and his two women went to sleep in a separate place, while I slept with one of his chiefs.[383] When day came and until the dinner was brought in, I walked about that island. I saw many articles of gold in those houses [384] but little food. After that we dined on rice and fish, and at the conclusion of dinner, I asked the king by signs whether I could see the queen. He replied that he was willing, and we went together to the summit of a lofty hill, where the queen's house was located. When I entered the house, I made a bow to the queen, and she did the same to me, whereupon I sat down beside her. She was making a sleeping mat of palm leaves. In the house there was hanging a number of porcelain jars

borquie de metalo vna magiore de Lalt^{a} et due piu picole ꝑ ſenare gli eranno molti ſchiaui et ſchiaue q̃ La ſeruiuão Queſte caſe ſonno facte como le alt^{e} Ja dete pigliata liſentia tornaſemo in caza deL re ſubito fece darne vna Colatiõe de canne dolce La magior abundantia q̃ ſia in queſta yſola e de oro mi moſtrorono certj valoni facendomi ſegnio que in q^{e}lli era tanto horo como li ſui capilly ma non anno fero ꝑ cauarlo ne ancque voleno q^{e}la fatiga Queſta parte de La yſola e vna medeſma terra con butuan et calaghan et paſſa ſopra bohol et confina cõ mazaua per che tornaremo vna alt^{a} fiata in queſta izolla non dico alt^{o} paſſato mezo di volſe tornare ale naui eL re volſe venire et li alt^{i} principali et cuſſi veneſſemo neL mediſimo balanghai retornando ꝑ lo fiume viti aman drita ſop^{a} vno monticello tre huominj apicati a vno arbure q̃ haueua tagliati li ramy Domanday al re q^{i} eran q^{e}lli riſpoſi q̃ erano maLfactorj et robatorj Queſti populi vano nudi Como li alt^{i} de ſup^{a} Lo re ſe chiama raia Calanao eL porto he buono et quiui ſe troua rizo gengero porci capre galine et alt^{e} coſe ſta de Latitudine aL polo articho in octo gradi et cento ſexantaſete de longitudine della linea repartitionalle et longi da Zubu cinquanta legue et ſe chiama chipit

and four metal gongs – one of which was larger than the second, while the other two were still smaller – for playing upon. There were many male and female slaves who served her. Those houses are constructed like those already mentioned. Having taken our leave, we returned to the king's house, where the king had us immediately served with refreshments of sugarcane. The most abundant product of that island is gold. They showed me certain large valleys,[385] making me a sign that the gold there was as abundant as the hairs of their heads, but they have no iron with which to dig it, and they do not care to go to the trouble [to get it].[386] That part of the island belongs to the same land as Butuan and Calaghan, and lies toward Bohol, and is bounded by Mazaua. As we shall return to that island again, I shall say nothing further [now]. The afternoon having waned, I desired to return to the ships. The king and the other chief men wished to accompany me, and therefore we went in the same balanghai.[387] As we were returning along the river, I saw, on the summit of a hill at the right, three men suspended from one tree, the branches of which had been cut away. I asked the king what was the reason for that, and he replied that they were malefactors and robbers. Those people go naked as do the others above mentioned. The king's name is Raia Calanao.[388] The harbor is an excellent one. Rice, ginger, swine, goats, fowls, and other things are to be found there. That port lies in a latitude of eight degrees toward the Arctic Pole, and in a longitude of one hundred and sixty-seven degrees[389] from the line of demarcation. It is fifty leguas from Zubu,

due Jornate de q^{i} aL mai/trale /e troua vna J/ola grande detta Lozon doue vanno ogni anno /ey hoꝟo octo Junci deli populi lechij

Partendone de q^{i} ala meza partita de ponente et garbin de//emo in vna y/ola non molto grande et ca/i de/habitata La gente de que/ta /onno mori et eranno banditi duna y/ola deta burne vano nudi Como li alt^{i} anno za robotane con li carca//eti alato pienni de freze con erba venenata anno pugnialli con li mani/i ornati de oro et de pietre precio/e lancie rodelle et corazine de corno de bufalo ne chiamauão corpi /ancti Jn que/ta y/ola /e trouaua pocha victuuaglia ma arborj grandi//imj /ta de Latitudine aL polo articho in /ette gradi et mezo et longi da chippit Quaranta tre legue et chiama//e caghaian.

Da que/ta y/ola circa de vinti cinque legue fra ponente et mai/tralle tro ua//emo vna Jzola grande doue /i troua rizo gengero porci capre galĩe fighi Longui mezo brazo et gro//i como lo bracio /onno boni et alguni alt^{i} Longui vno palmo et alt^{i} mancho molto megliori de tucti li altri Cochi batate canne dolci radice como rapi aL mãgiare et rizo cotto /oto lo fuocho in canne o in legnio que/to dura piu que q^{e}llo coto in pigniatte Que/ta tera poteuão chiamare la terra de ꝑmissione perche Jnanzi la troua//emo patiuamo grã Fame a/say volte /te//emo in force de habandomare le naui et andare in terra ꝑ non morire de fame. Lo re fece pace cõ noi

and is called Chipit.[390] Two days' journey thence to the northwest is found a large island called Lozon,[391] where six or eight junks belonging to the Lequian people go yearly.[392]

Leaving there and laying our course west southwest, we cast anchor at an island not very large and almost uninhabited. The people of that island are Moros and were banished from an island called Burne. They go naked as do the others. They have blowpipes and small quivers at their side, full of arrows and a poisonous herb. They have daggers whose hafts are adorned with gold and precious gems, spears, bucklers, and small cuirasses of buffalo horn.[393] They called us holy beings. Little food was to be found in that island, but [there were] immense trees. It lies in a latitude of seven and one-half degrees toward the Arctic Pole, and is forty-three leguas[394] from Chippit. Its name is Caghaian.[395]

About twenty-five leguas to the west northwest from the above island we found a large island, where rice, ginger, swine, goats, fowls, figs one-half braza long and as thick as the arm [*i.e.*, bananas] (they are excellent; and certain others are one palmo and less in length, and are much better than all the others), cocoanuts, camotes [*batate*], sugarcane, and roots resembling turnips in taste, are found. Rice is cooked there under the fire in bamboos or in wood; and it lasts better than that cooked in earthen pots. We called that land the land of promise, because we suffered great hunger before we found it. We were often on the point of abandoning the ships and going ashore in order that we might not die of hun-

tagliando//e vno pocho cõ vno nño cortello in mezo deL pecto et /anguinando /e tocho la lingua et La fronte in /egnio de piu vera pace co/i fece mo ancho nuy Que/ta y/ola /ta de Latitudine aL polo artícho in noue gradi et vno ter/o et cento et /eptanta vno et vno ter/o de Longitudine de La lignea ripartitiõe pulaoan.

Que/ti populi de polaoan vano nudi como li alt^{i} Qua/i tucti Lauaranno li /ui campi hanno zarabotanne cõ freze de legnio gro//e piu duno palmo arponate et algune con /pine de pe/ce con erba venenata at alt^{e} cõ ponte de cana arponate et venenate anno neL capo ficato vno pocho de legnio molle in cambio de le penne neL fine dele /ue zarabotãe liganno vno fero como di Jannetone et Quando anno tracte le freze combateno cõ que/to precianno aneli cadennete de latone /onaglie cor teli et piu aL filo de ramo ꝑ ligare li /ui ami da pe/care anno gally grandi molto dome/tici nõ li mangião ꝑ vna certa /ua venneratiõe alguna volta li fanno combatere luno cõ lalt^{o} et ogni vno meta ꝑ Lo /uo vno tanto et poy de cului q̃ he /uo eL vincitore he /uo eL premio et anno vino de rizo lambicato piu grande et meglioꝛ de q^{e}llo de palma.

Longi de que/ta y/ola dieze legue aL garbin de/semo in vna Jzola et co/teandola ne pareua alquanto a/cendere intrati neL porte ne a parue eL

Sundan

ger.[396] The king made peace with us by gashing himself slightly in the breast with one of our knives, and upon bleeding, touching the tip of his tongue and his forehead in token of the truest peace, and we did the same. That island lies in a latitude of nine and one-third degrees toward the Arctic Pole, and a longitude of one hundred and seventy-one and one-third [397] degrees from the line of demarcation. [It is called] Pulaoan.[398]

Those people of Polaoan go naked as do the others. Almost all [399] of them cultivate their fields. They have blowpipes with thick wooden arrows more than one palmo long, with harpoon points, and others tipped with fishbones, and poisoned with an herb; while others are tipped with points of bamboo like harpoons and are poisoned.[400] At the end of the arrow they attach a little piece of soft wood, instead of feathers. At the end of their blowpipes they fasten a bit of iron like a spear head;[401] and when they have shot all their arrows they fight with that. They place a value on brass rings and chains, bells, knives, and still more on copper wire for binding their fishhooks. They have large and very tame cocks, which they do not eat because of a certain veneration that they have for them. Sometimes they make them fight with one another, and each one puts up a certain amount on his cock, and the prize goes to him whose cock is the victor. They have distilled rice wine which is stronger and better than that made from the palm.[402]

Ten leguas southwest of that island, we came to an island, which, as we coasted by, seemed to us to be going upward. After entering the port, the holy

corpo ſancto ꝑ vno tempo oſcuriſſimo daL principio de queſta yſola fina aL porto li ſonno cinquanta legue Lo Jorno ſequente a noue de Juglio Lo re de queſta yſola ne mando vno prao molto bello cõ la proua et la popa lauorate doro era ſupª la proua vna bandiera de biancho et lazuro con penne de pauonne in cima alguni ſonauão con cinphonie et tamburi veniuão cõ queſto prao due al ma die li prao ſonno Como fuſte et le almadie ſonno le ſue barche da peſcare octo homini vecqⁱ deli principali entrarono nele naui et ſederonno neLa popa ſopª vno tapeto ne apreſentarono vno vazo de legnio de pinto pieno de betre et areca che e qᵉL fructo que maſticano ſempre con fiori de gelſomini et de naranci coperto de vno panno de ſeta Jallo due gabie pienne de galine vno paro de capre tre vazi pieni de vino de rizo lanbicato et alquanti faſci de canne dolci et coſſi de tero a laltra naue et abraciandone pigliaronno liſentia eL vino de rizo he chiaro como lacqua ma tanto grande q̃ molti deli noſtⁱ ſembriacarõ et lo chiamano arach.

Deli aſey giorni lore mando vnaltª volta tre prao con molta pompa ſonãdo cinphonie tamburi et borchie de latone circondorono le naui et ne fecero reuerentia cõ certe sue berete de tella q̃ li copreno ſolamente la cima deL capo li ſaluta ſſemo cõle bonbarde ſenza pietre poy ne detero vno pñte de diuerſe viuande ſolamente de rizo algune in foglie facte in pezi alquanto longhi algune como pannj de

body [*i.e.*, St. Elmo's fire] appeared to us through the pitchy darkness. There is a distance of fifty leguas [403] from the beginning of that island to the port. On the following day, July nine, the king of that island sent a very beautiful prau to us, whose bow and stern were worked in gold. At the bow flew a white and blue banner surmounted with peacock feathers. Some men were playing on musical instruments [*cinphonie*] and drums. Two *almadies* [404] came with that prau. Praus resemble fustas, while the *almadies* are their small fishing boats. Eight old men, who were chiefs, entered the ships and took seats in the stern upon a carpet. They presented us with a painted wooden jar full of betel and areca (the fruit which they chew continually), and jessamine [405] and orange blossoms, a covering of yellow silk cloth, two cages full of fowls, a couple of goats, three jarsful of distilled rice wine, and some bundles of sugarcane. They did the same to the other ship, and embracing us took their leave. The rice wine is as clear as water, but so strong that it intoxicated many of our men. It is called *arach* [*i.e.*, arrack].

Six days later the king again sent three praus with great pomp, which encircled the ships with musical instruments [*cinphonie*] playing and drums and brass gongs beating. They saluted us with their peculiar cloth caps which cover only the top of their heads. We saluted them by firing our mortars without [loading with] stones. Then they gave us a present of various kinds of food, made only of rice. Some were wrapped in leaves and were made in somewhat longish pieces, some resembled sugar-

zucharo et alguni altⁱ facti amodo de torte con oui et melle ne di//ero como lo /ue re era contento piglia//emo hacqua et legnia et contrata//emo aL nr̃o piaceř vdendo que/to monta//emo /ette de nuy altⁱ /opª lo prao et porta//emo vno pñte al re elqªlle era vna ve/ta de veluto ỿde a la turche/ca vna cathedra de veluto morello cinque bracia de panno ro//o vno bonnet et vno biquier dorato vno vaso de vetro coperto tre quinternj de carta et vno Calamaro dorato aLa regina tre bracia de panno [ro/so: *crossed out in original MS.*] giallo vno paro de /carpe argentate vno guchiarollo dargento pieno de gugie AL gouuernatoř tre bracia de panno ro//o vno bonnet et vno bichier dorato aL re darme q̃ era vennuto nelli prao gli de/emo vna ve/ta de panno ro//o et ỿde aLa turche/ca vno bonnet et vno quinterno de carta a li altⁱ /ete principali a qⁱ tella a qⁱ bonnetj et a ogni vno vno quinterno de carta et /ubito /e parti//emo.

Quando Jonge//emo aLa cita /te//emo for/i due hore neli prao fin q̃ venirono dui elephanti coperti de /eta et dudizi homini cõ vno vazo p̃ vno de porce lana coperto de/eta p̃ coprire nr̃i pre/enti poy monta//emo /opª li elefanty et que/ti dodice hominj ne andauão dinanzi cõ li pre/enti neli vazi anda /emo cu//i fin a la ca/a del gouuernatore oue ne fo data vna cena de molte viuande la nocte dormi//emo /oura matara/i de bambazo la /ua fodra era de tafeta li lin/oli de cambaia lo giorno /eguente /te//emo in ca/a fin amezo di poy anda//emo aL palaçio del re

loaves, while others were made in the manner of tarts with eggs and honey. They told us that their king was willing to let us get water and wood, and to trade at our pleasure. Upon hearing that seven [406] of us entered their prau bearing a present to their king, which consisted of a green velvet robe made in the Turkish manner, a violet velvet chair, five brazas of red cloth, a cap,[407] a gilded drinking glass, a covered glass vase, three writing-books of paper, and a gilded writing-case. To the queen [we took] three brazas of [red: *crossed out in original MS.*] yellow cloth, a pair of silvered shoes, and a silvered needle-case full of needles. [We took] three brazas of red cloth, a cap, and a gilded drinking-glass to the governor. To the herald who came in the prau we gave a robe of red and green cloth, made in the Turkish fashion, a cap, and a writing book of paper; and to the other seven chief men, to one a bit of cloth, and to another a cap, and to all of them a writing book of paper. Then we immediately departed [for the land].

When we reached the city, we remained about two hours in the prau, until the arrival of two elephants with silk trappings, and twelve men each of whom carried a porcelain jar covered with silk in which to carry our presents. Thereupon, we mounted the elephants while those twelve men preceded us afoot with the presents in the jars. In this way we went to the house of the governor, where we were given a supper of many kinds of food. During the night we slept on cotton mattresses,[408] whose lining was of taffeta, and the sheets of Cambaia. Next day we stayed in the house until noon. Then we went to the

/oura elefanti cõ li p/ẽntj dinanci como lo giorno dananti da ca/a deL gouuernatoř fin in ca/a deL re tute le /trate erano pienne de hominj con /pade lancie et targonj ꝑ che cu//i haueua voluto lo re. Jntra//emo /oura li elefanti ne la corte deL palatio anda//emo /u ꝑ vna /cala acompagniatj daL gouuernatoř et alt^{i} principali et Jntra//emo in vna /ala grande piena de molti baronj oue /ede//emo /op^{a} vno tapeto cõ li pñti neli vazi apre//o noi AL capo de Que/ta /ala nehe vnalt^{a} piu alta ma alquanto piu picola tuta ornata de panni de /eta oue /e aprirono due fene/tre con due cortine de brocato daliq^{a}lli veniua la luce nella /ala iui erano trecento homini in piedi cõ /tocq^{i} nudi soura la co//a ꝑ guardia deL re aL capo de Que/ta era vna grande fene/t^{a} dalaq^{a}lle /e tiro vna cortina de brocato dent^{o} de que/ta vede/-/emo el re /edere ataula con vno /uo figliolo picolino et ma/ticare betre dietro da lui erano /inon donne Alhora ne di//e vno principalle nuy nõ poteuão parlare al re et /e voleuamo alguna co/a Lo dice/-/emo alui ꝑ che la direbe avno piu principale et Quello avno fratello deL gouuernatoř q̃ /taua nela /ala piu picola et poi lui la direbe cõ vna zarabotana ꝑ vna /fi/ura deL pariete a vno q̃ /taua dent^{o} cõlore et ne in /egnio doue//emo fare al re tre reuerentie cõ li many Jonte /o p̃ lo capo alzando li piedi mo vno mo alt^{o} et poy le basa//emo co/i fo facto Que/ta e la /ua reuerentia reale li dice//emo como eramo deL

king's palace upon elephants, with our presents in front as on the preceding day. All the streets from the governor's to the king's house were full of men with swords, spears, and shields, for such were the king's orders. We entered the courtyard of the palace mounted on the elephants. We went up a ladder accompanied by the governor and other chiefs, and entered a large hall full of many nobles,[409] where we sat down upon a carpet with the presents in the jars near us. At the end of that hall there is another hall higher but somewhat smaller. It was all adorned with silk hangings, and two windows, through which light entered the hall and hung with two brocade curtains, opened from it. There were three hundred footsoldiers with naked rapiers at their thighs in that hall to guard the king.[410] At the end of the small hall was a large window from which a brocade curtain was drawn aside so that we could see within it the king seated at a table with one of his young sons chewing betel.[411] No one but women were behind him. Then a chief told us that we could not speak to the king, and that if we wished anything, we were to tell it to him, so that he could communicate it to one of higher rank. The latter would communicate it to a brother of the governor who was stationed in the smaller hall, and this man would communicate it by means of a speaking-tube through a hole in the wall to one who was inside with the king. The chief taught us the manner of making three obeisances to the king with our hands clasped above the head, raising first one foot and then the other and then kissing the hands toward him, and we did so, that being the method of the royal obei-

re de/pagnia et que lui voleua pace /eco et nõ domandauão alt° /aluo potere mẽcadã tare ne fece dire el re poy cheL re de/pagnia voleua e/ere /uo amicho lui era contenti//imo de e//er /uo et di//e piglia//emo hacqua et legnia et merchadanta/emo a nr̃o piacere poi li de//emo li pre/enti faceua dognj co/a cõ Lo capo vn poco de riuerentia acia/cuno de nuy alt^i^ fo dacto brocadelo et panny de oro et de /eta ponendoneli /op^a^ la /pala Sini/tra ma poco la/ciando negli ne deteno vna Colatiõe de garofoli et canella alora foreno tirate le cortine et /erate le fene/tre li homini q̃ era neL palatio tuti haueuão panni de oro [de oro: *doublet in original MS.*] et de /eta intorno loro ꝟgonie pugniali cõ Lo manicho de oro et ornato de perle et petre precio/e et molti aneli nele mani retorna//emo Soura le elefanti ala ca/a deL gouuernatoꝛ̃ Sete homini portorono iL prezente del re /empre dinanzi Quando fo/semo Jonti aca/a dereno a ogniuno Lo Suo et nel mi//ero /oura la /pala Sini/tra aliq^a^lli ꝑ /ua fatica dona//emo a cia/caduna vno paro de Cortelli venirono in ca/a deL gouuernatoꝛ̃ noue hominj cõ alt^i^ tanti piati de legnio grandi daL parte de re in ogni piato erão x hoꝟo dudize /cudelle de porcelana pienne de Carne de vitello de caponi galine pauonj et altry animali et de pe/ce cena/-/emo in tera /oura vna /tora de palma de trenta o trenta dui /orte de viuande de carne eccepto Lo pe/ce et alt^e^ co/e beue uão a ogni bocone pieno vno vazeto de porcelana grande como vno ouo de q^e^L vino lanbicato mangia//emo rizo et altre viuande

sance. We told the king that we came from the king of Spagnia, and that the latter desired to make peace with him and asked only for permission to trade. The king had us told that since the king of Spagnia desired to be his friend, he was very willing to be his, and said that we could take water and wood, and trade at our pleasure. Then we gave him the presents, on receiving each of which he nodded slightly. To each one of us was given some brocaded and gold cloth and silk, which were placed upon our left shoulders, where they were left but a moment.[412] They presented us with refreshments of cloves and cinnamon, after which the curtains were drawn to and the windows closed. The men in the palace were all attired in cloth of gold and silk which covered their privies, and carried daggers with gold hafts adorned with pearls and precious gems, and they had many rings on their hands. We returned upon the elephants to the governor's house, seven men carrying the king's presents to us and always preceding us. When we reached the house, they gave each one of us his present, placing them upon our left shoulders. We gave each of those men a couple of knives for his trouble. Nine men came to the governor's house with a like number of large wooden trays from the king. Each tray contained ten or twelve porcelain dishes full of veal, capons, chickens, peacocks, and other animals, and fish. We supped on the ground upon a palm mat from thirty or thirty-two different kinds of meat besides the fish and other things. At each mouthful of food we drank a small cupful of their distilled wine from a porcelain cup the size of an egg. We ate rice and other sweet food

de /ucaro cõ cuchiarj doro Como li nr̃j oue dormi//emo le due nocte /tauão due torcie de cera biancha /empre acceze /oura dui Candellieri de argento vno poco alti et due lampade grande pienne dolio cõ catro pauerj p̃ ogni vna et dui homini q̃ /empre le /pauilauão Veni//emo /oura li elefanti fino a La riua deL mare doue forono dui prao q̃ ne condu/cero ale nauj Que/ta cita etuta fondata in acqua /al/a /aluo la ca/a del re et algune de certy principali et he de vinti cinque miglia focq^{i} le ca/e /onno tute de legno edificati /oura pali gro//i alti da tera Quando lo mare cre/cie vanno le donne p̃ la tera con barque vendendo co/e nece//arie aL /uo viuere dinanzi la ca/a deL re e vno muro de Cadreli gro//o con barbarcanj a modo de forteza nel q^{a}lle erano cinquanta /ey bombarde de metalo et /ey de fero in li dui giornj /te//emo iui /caricorono molte Que/to re e moro et /e chiama raia Siripada era de Quaranta anny et gra//o ninguno Lo gouerna /e non donne figliole deli principali non /i parte may fora daL palatio /e non Quando va ala caza ninguno li po par lare /inon p̃ zarabotane tene x /criuanj q̃ /criueno le co/e /ue in /cor/e de arbore molto /otille a Que/ti chiamano Xiritoles.

Luni matina a vinti noue de Jullio vede//emo venire contra nui piu de cento prao partiti in tre /cadronj con alt^{i} tanti tunguli q̃ /onno li /ue barche picole Quando vede//emo Que/to pen/ando fo//e q^{a}lque Jnganno ne de//emo Lo piu pre/to fo po//i-

with gold spoons like ours. In our sleeping quarters there during those two nights, two torches of white wax were kept constantly alight in two rather tall silver candlesticks, and two large lamps full of oil with four wicks apiece and two men to snuff them continually. We went elephant-back to the seashore, where we found two praus which took us back to the ships. That city [413] is entirely built in salt water, except the houses of the king and certain chiefs. It contains twenty-five thousand fires [*i.e.*, families].[414] The houses are all constructed of wood and built up from the ground on tall pillars. When the tide is high the women go in boats through the settlement [*tera*] selling the articles necessary to maintain life. There is a large brick wall in front of the king's house with towers like a fort, in which were mounted fifty-six bronze [*metalo*] pieces, and six of iron. During the two days of our stay there, many pieces were discharged. That king is a Moro and his name is Raia Siripada. He was forty years old and corpulent. No one serves him except women who are the daughters [415] of chiefs. He never goes outside of his palace, unless when he goes hunting, and no one is allowed to talk with him except through the speaking tube. He has x scribes, called Xiritoles,[416] who write down his deeds on very thin tree bark.

On Monday morning, July twenty-nine, we saw more than one hundred praus divided into three squadrons and a like number of tunguli [417] (which are their small boats) coming toward us. Upon catching sight of them, imagining that there was some trickery afoot, we hoisted our sails as quickly as pos-

bile nela vella et ꝑ pre//a La/cia//emo vna anchora et molto piu ne dubitauão de e//ere tolti in mezo de certi Junci q̃ neL giorno pa//ato re/tarono dopo nuy Subito /e volta//emo contra que/ti et ne piglia//emo catº amazando molte ꝑ /onne tri o catro Junci fugirono in /eco in vno de qᵉlli q̃ piglia//emo era lo figliolo deL re deLa y/ola de Lozon co/tui era capº gñale de que/to re de burne et veniua cõ que/ti Jonci da vna vila grande deta Laoe q̃ he in capo de que/ta i/ola ver/o Jaua magiore laqªlle ꝑ non volere hobedire aque/to re ma aqᵉllo de Jaua magiore la haueua ruynata et /acquegiata giouan Caruiao nr̃o piloto la//o andare Que/to capº et Lo Jonco /enza no/tº con/entimẽto ꝑ certa Cantita de oro como dapoy /ape//emo /e non La//aua que/to re lo capº ne haueria dato tuto qᵉllo haue//emo demandato ꝑ che que/to capº era molto temuto in que/te parte ma piu da gentilli ꝑ cio /onno Jnimici//imj de que/to re moro. in que/to porto glie vnaltª cita de gentilli magiori de qᵉlla de li mori fondata anche ella in acqua /alza ꝑ ilche ogni Jorno Que/ti dui populi combateno in/ieme neL mede/imo porto il re gentille e potente como Lo re moro ma nõ tanto /uperbo facilmente /e conuertirebe a la fede de xp̃o Jl re moro Quando haueua Jnte/o in que modo haueuão tractati li Jonci ne mando a dire ꝑ vno de li no/tⁱ q̃ erão in tera como li prao nõ veniuão ꝑ farne de/piacere ma andauão contª li gentilli et ꝑ verifi-

sible, abandoning an anchor in our haste. We expected especially that we were to be captured in between certain junks which had anchored behind us on the preceding day. We immediately turned upon the latter, capturing four of them and killing many persons. Three or four of the junks sought flight by beaching. In one of the junks which we captured was the son of the king of the island of Lozon. He was the captain-general of the king of Burne, and came with those junks from a large city named Laoe,[418] which is located at the end of that island [*i.e.*, Borneo] toward Java Major. He had destroyed and sacked that city because it refused to obey the king [of Burne], but the king of Java Major instead. Giovan Carvaio, our pilot, allowed that captain and the junks to go without our consent, for a certain sum of gold, as we learned afterward. Had the pilot not given up the captain to the king, the latter would have given us whatever we had asked, for that captain was exceedingly feared throughout those regions, especially by the heathens, as the latter are very hostile to that Moro king. In that same port there is another city inhabited by heathens, which is larger than that of the Moros, and built like the latter in salt water. On that account the two peoples have daily combats together in that same harbor. The heathen king is as powerful as the Moro king, but is not so haughty, and could be converted easily to the Christian faith. When the Moro king heard how we had treated the junks, he sent us a message by one of our men who was ashore to the effect that the praus were not coming to do us any harm, but that they were going to attack the

catiõe de que/to li mo/trorono alguni capi de homini morti et li di/cero que erão de gentili manda//emo dire aL re li piace//e la/ciare venire li no/tri duy homini q̃ /tauano ne la cita ꝑ contratare et Lo figliolo de Johã caruaio q̃ era na/cuto nela tera deL ỿzin ma lui nõ volce de que/to fo cagiõe Johã Caruaio ꝑ La//iare q^eL cap^o reteni//emo /edizi homj̃ piu principali ꝑ menarli in /pagnia et tre donne in nome de la regina de/pag^a ma Johã caruaio le v/urpo per /ue.

LY Jonci /onno le /ue naui et facti inque/to modo Lo fondo e circa duy palmi /oura lacqua et de taule con cauechie di legnio a//ay ben facto /uura de que/to /onno tucti de cane gro/i//ime ꝑ contrapezo porta vno de que/ti tanta roba como vna naue li /ui arbore /onno de canne et le velle de /cor/e de arbore la porcellana /orte de tera bianqui//ima et /ta cinquanta anny /oto tera inanzi la/iadopere ꝑ che altramente non /aria fina lo padre la /otera ꝑ lo figliolo /eL [veleno] /i ponne in vno vazo de porcelana fino /ubito /e rompe la moneta q̃ adoperano li morj in que/ta parte e dimetalo /bu/ata neL mezo ꝑ in/filzarla et a /olam^te duna parte quat^o /egni q̃ /onno lr̃e deL grã re della Chijna et La chiamano picis per vno cathiL de argento viuo che e due libre de le no/t^e ne dauano /ey /cutelle

heathens. As a proof of that statement, the Moros showed him some heads of men who had been killed, which they declared to be the heads of heathens. We sent a message to the king, asking him to please allow two of our men who were in the city for purposes of trade and the son of Johan Carvaio, who had been born in the country of Verzin, to come to us, but the king refused. That was the consequences of Johan Carvaio letting the above captain go. We kept sixteen of the chiefest men [of the captured junks] to take them to Spagnia, and three women in the queen's name, but Johan Carvaio usurped the latter for himself.[419]

Junks are their ships and are made in the following manner. The bottom part is built about two palmos above the water and is of planks fastened with wooden pegs, which are very well made; above that they are entirely made of very large bamboos. They have a bamboo as a counterweight. One of those junks carries as much cargo as a ship. Their masts are of bamboo, and the sails of the bark of trees.[420] Their porcelain is a sort of exceedingly white earth which is left for fifty years under the earth before it is worked, for otherwise it would not be fine. The father buries it for the son. If [poison] is placed in a dish made of fine porcelain, the dish immediately breaks.[421] The money made by the Moros in those regions is of bronze [*metalo*] pierced in the middle in order that it may be strung. On only one side of it are four characters, which are letters of the great king of Chiina. We call that money *picis*.[422] They gave us six porcelain dishes for one *cathil*[423] (which is equivalent to two of our libras)

de porcelana per vno quinterno de carta cento picis ꝑ cento ſexanta cathili de metalo vno vazeto de porcelana ꝑ tre cortelli vno vazo de porcelana ꝑ 160 cathili de metalo ne danão vno bahar de cera q̃ e duzento et tre cathili per octanta cathili de metalo vno bahar de ſale ꝑ quaranta cathili de metalo vno bahar de anime ꝑ conciar le nauj ꝑ que in queſte parte nõ ſi troua pegola vinti tahiL fanno vno cathiL Qiui ſe apretia metalo argento viuo vetro cenaprio pannj de lana telle et tutte le altri nr̃e merce ma piu lo fero et li ochiali Queſti morj vano nudi como li altⁱ beueno largento viuo Lo infermo Lo beue per purgarſe et Lo Sano ꝑ reſtare ſanno.

Jl re de burne a due perle groſſe come dui oui de galina et ſonno tanto rotonde q̃ non puono firmarſe ſoura vna tauola et queſto ſo certo ꝑ q̃ quando li portaſſemo li preſenti li fo facto ſegnio nele moſtraſe lui diſſe le moſtrarebe laltº giorno poy alguni principali ne diſſero Loro hauerle vedute.

Queſti mori adoranno mahometo et la ſua lege et non mangiar carne de porco lauarſi il culo cõ la mano ſiniſtra non mangiare cõ qᵉlla nõ tagliare coſa alguna cõ la dextra ſedere Quando vrinano nõ amazare galine ne capre ſe pⁱma nõ parlano aL ſolle tagliare de galine le cime de le alle cõ le ſue pelecine q̃ li avanzano de ſoto et li piedi et poy ſcartarla ꝑ mezo lauarſe lo volto cõ la mano drita nõ lauarſe li denti

of quicksilver; one hundred *picis* for one book of writing paper; one small porcelain vase for one hundred and sixty cathils of bronze [*metalo*]; one porcelain vase for three knives; one bahar (which is equivalent to two hundred and three cathils), of wax for 160 cathils of bronze [*metalo*]; one bahar of salt for eighty cathils of bronze [*metalo*]; one bahar of *anime* to calk the ships (for no pitch is found in those regions) for forty cathils of bronze [*metalo*].[424] Twenty tahils make one cathil. At that place the people highly esteem bronze [*metalo*], quicksilver, glass, cinnabar,[425] wool cloth, linens, and all our other merchandise, although iron and spectacles[426] more than all the rest. Those Moros go naked as do the other peoples [of those regions]. They drink quicksilver – the sick man drinks it to cleanse himself, and the well man to preserve his health.

The king of Burne has two pearls as large as two hen's eggs. They are so round that they will not stand still on a table. I know that for a fact, for when we carried the king's presents to him, signs were made for him to show them to us, but he said that he would show them next day. Afterward some chiefs said that they had seen them.

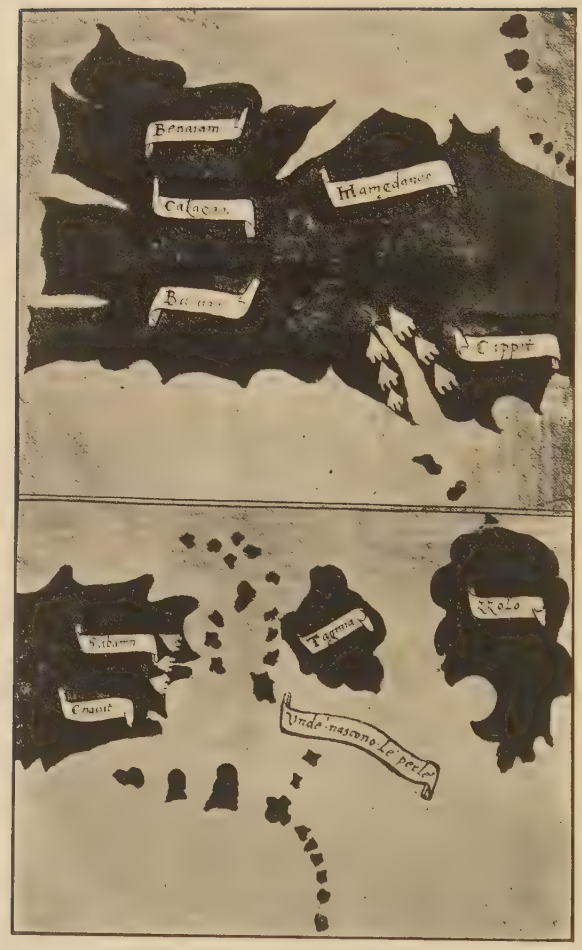
Those Moros worship Mahomet. The latter's law orders them not to eat pork; as they wash the buttocks with the left hand, not to use that hand in eating;[427] not to cut anything with the right hand; to sit down to urinate; not to kill fowls or goats without first addressing the sun; to cut off the tops of the wings with the little bits of skin that stick up from under and the feet of fowls; then to split them in twain; to wash the face with the right hand, but

cõ li ditti et none mangiare co/a alguna amazata /e non da loro /onno circũ /i/i como li Judei.

Jn que/ta y/ola na/ce la canfora /pecie de bal/amo laq[a]lle na/ce fra li arbori et la /cor/a e menuta como li remole Se la /e tiene di/coperta apoco apoco diuenta niente et la chiamano Capor li na/ce cannela gengero mirabolani neranci limoni chiacare meloni cogomari zuche rapani ceuole /carlogne vache bufali porci capre galine oche ceruj elefanti cauali et altre co/e Que/ta y/ola e tanto grande q̃ /i /ta a circundarla con vno prao tre mezi /ta de latitudine aL polo articho in cinque gradi et vno carto et in cento et /etanta/ey et duy ter/i de Longitudine de la linea Repartitionale et /e chiama burne.

Partendone de que/ta y/ola torna//emo in drieto ꝑ truuare vno loco apto ꝑ conciare le naui ꝑ che faceuano hacqua vna naue ꝑ poco vedere deL /uo piloto dete in certi ba//i duna y/ola deta bibalon ma cõ lo ajuto de dio la libera//emo vno marinaro de q[e]lla naue nõ hauedendo/e de/pauilo vna candella in vna barille pien de poluere de bombarda Subito la tol/e fora /en/a danno ni//uno /eguẽdo poi lo nr̃o camino piglia//emo vno prao pienno de Cochi que andaua a burne le homini fugirono in vna J/oleta fin que piglia//emo que/to tre alt[i] fugirono de drieto da certe y/ollete.

AL capo de burne f[a] que/ta et vna J/ola deta Cimbonbon q̃ /ta in octo gradi et /ette menuti e vno porto


Benaiam
Hamedanie
Cippit
Tagmia
Rolo
Unde nascono le perle

not to cleanse the teeth with the fingers; and not to eat anything that has been killed unless it be by themselves.[428] They are circumcised like the Jews.

Camphor, a kind of balsam, is produced in that island. It exudes between the wood and the bark, and the drops are as small as [grains of] wheat bran.[429] If it is exposed it gradually evaporates [*literally*: becomes nothing]. Those people call it *capor*. Cinnamon, ginger, mirabolans, oranges, lemons, nangcas, watermelons, cucumbers, gourds, turnips, cabbages, scallions, cows, buffaloes, swine, goats, chickens, geese, deer, elephants, horses, and other things are found there.[430] That island is so large that it takes three months to sail round it in a prau. It lies in a latitude of five and one-fourth degrees toward the Arctic Pole, and in a longitude of one hundred and seventy-six and two-thirds degrees from the line of demarcation, and its name is Burne.[431]

Leaving that island, we turned back in order to find a suitable place to calk the ships, for they were leaking. One ship ran on to some shoals of an island called Bibalon,[432] because of the carelessness of its pilot, but by the help of God we freed it. A sailor of that ship incautiously snuffed a candle into a barrel full of gunpowder, but he quickly snatched it out without any harm.[433] Then pursuing our course, we captured a prau laden with cocoanuts on its way to Burne. Its crew sought refuge on an islet, until we captured it.[434] Three other praus escaped behind certain islets.

At the head of Burne between it and an island called Cimbonbon, which lies in [a latitude of] eight

ꝑfecto ꝑ conciare naui ꝑ ilque entra//emo dentº et ꝑ haueř tropo le co/e nece//arie ꝑ conciare le naui tarda//emo quarãtaduj giorni Jn Que/ti giorni ognuno de nuy /e afaticaua qⁱ in vna co/a qⁱ in vnaltª ma la magior faticha haueuão era andar far legnia neli bo/chi /enza /carpe Jn que/ta y/ola /onno porci /aluatici ne amaza//emo vno de que/ti cõ lo batello ne lacqua pa//ando de vna y/ola in vnaltª loqªlle haueua lo capo longo duy palmi et mezo et li denti grandi gli /onno Cocodrili grandi cu//i de terra como de mare o/trigue et cape de diuer/e /orte fra le altre no troua//emo due la carne de luna pezo vinti /ey libř et laltª quaranta catro pi-glia//emo vno pe/ce q̃ haueua Lo capo Como vno porco con dui Corni eL /uo corpo era tuto duno o//o /olo haueua /oura la /chena como vna /ella et era picolo Ancora qⁱ /e troua arbori q̃ fanno la foglia Quando ca/cano /onno viue et Ca minano Quelle foglie /onno de piu ne meno Como qᵉlli deL moraro ma nõ tanto Longue apre//o eL pecolo de vna parte et delaltª anno duy piedi iL pecollo e corto et pontino non anno /angue et qⁱ le coca fugino yo ne teny vna noue giorni in vna /catola Quando la apriua Que/ta andaua in torno intorno ꝑ la /catola non pen/o viueno de altº /enon de arie.

E//endo partiti de que/ta y/ola çioe deL porto neL capo de qᵉlla y/ola pulaoã in contra//emo vno Jonco che veniua da burne neLqªlle era lo gouuernatoř de pulaoan li face//emo /egnio amayna//e le velle et lui nõ volendole amaynare lo piglia//emo ꝑ for/a et

degrees and seven minutes,[435] is a perfect port for repairing ships. Consequently, we entered it; but as we lacked many things for repairing the ships, we delayed there for forty-two days. During that time, each one of us labored hard, one at one thing and one at another. Our greatest fatigue however was to go barefoot to the woods for wood. In that island there are wild boars, of which we killed one which was going by water from one island to another [by pursuing it] with the small boat. Its head was two and one-half palmos long,[436] and its teeth were large. There are found large crocodiles, both on land and sea, oysters and shellfish of various kinds. Among the last named we found two, the flesh of one of which weighed twenty-six libras, and the other forty-four.[437] We caught a fish, which had a head like that of a hog and two horns. Its body consisted entirely of one bone, and on its back it resembled a saddle; and it was small.[438] Trees are also found there which produce leaves which are alive when they fall, and walk. Those leaves are quite like those of the mulberry, but are not so long. On both sides near the stem, which is short and pointed, they have two feet. They have no blood, but if one touches[439] them they run away. I kept one of them for nine days in a box. When I opened the box, that leaf went round and round it.[440] I believe those leaves live on nothing but air.

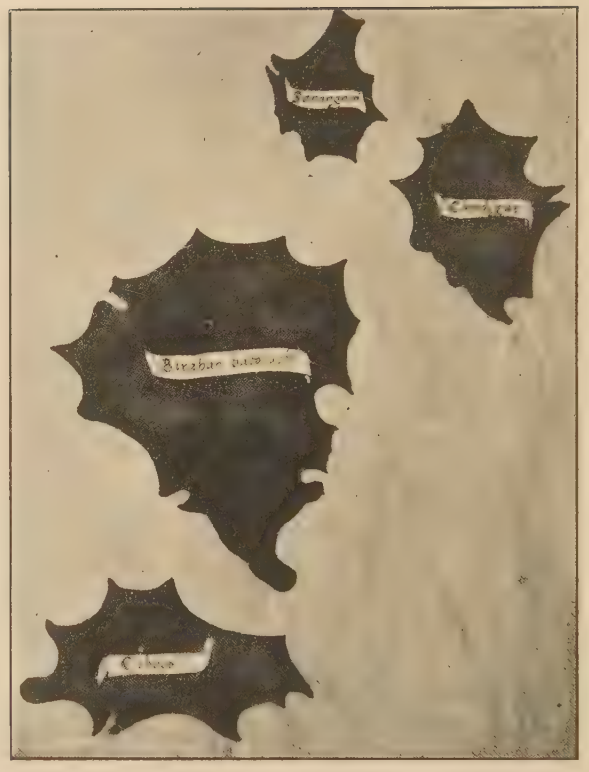
Having left that island,[441] that is, the port, we met at the head of the island of Pulaoan a junk which was coming from Burne, on which was the governor of Pulaoan. We made them a signal to haul in their sails, and as they refused to haul them in, we cap-

Lo ſacquegia//emo ſeL gouernatoꝛ volſe e//ere libero ne dete in termino de ſette giornj Quatro cento meſure de rizo vinti porci vinti capre et cento cinquanta galine poy ne a preſento cochi figui canne dolci vazi de vino de palma et altᵉ coſe vedẽ do nuy la ſua liberalita gli rende//emo alguni ſui pugnialli et archibuſi poy li dona//emo vna bandiera vna veſta de damaſco giallo et xv braçia de tella a vno ſuo figliolo vna capo de panno lazuro et a vno fratello deL gouuernatoꝛ vna veſta de panno ỽde et altᵉ coſe ſe parti//emo de lui Como amiçi et torna//emo indrieto fª la yſola de cagajan et qᵉL porto de Cippit pigliando lo Camino a la carta deL leuante ỽſo ſiroco ꝑ trouare le yſolle de malucho paſa//emo ꝑ certi monticelli circa de liqªlli trouaſ-/emo lo mare pienno de herbe cõ lo fondo grandissº Quando paſauamo ꝑ queſti ne pareua intrare ꝑ vno altº mare reſtãdo chipit al leuante troua//emo due yſolle zolo et taghima aL ponente apre//e de le qªlle naſcono le perle le due deL re de burne forono trouatte quiui et le hebe como ne fo referito in queſto modo Queſto re piglio per moglie vna figliola deL re de zolo laqªlle li di//e como ſuo padre haueua Queſte due perle coſtui ſi delibero hauerli in ogni modo ando vna nocte con cinquecento prao et piglio lore con duy ſui figlioli et meno li a burne ſeL re de zolo ſe volſe liberare li fu forſa darli le due perle.

tured the junk by force, and sacked it. [We told] the governor [that] if [he] wished his freedom, he was to give us, inside of seven days, four hundred measures of rice, twenty swine, twenty goats, and one hundred and fifty fowls. After that he presented us with cocoanuts, figs [*i.e.*, bananas], sugarcanes, jars full of palm wine, and other things. Seeing his liberality, we returned some of his daggers and arquebuses to him, giving him in addition, a flag, a yellow damask robe, and xv brazas of cloth; to his son, a cloak of blue cloth; to a brother of the governor, a robe of green cloth and other things; and we parted from them as friends. We turned our course back between the island of Cagaian and the port of Cippit, and laid our course east by south in order that we might find the islands of Malucho. We passed by certain reefs [*literally*: small elevations] near which we found the sea to be full of grass, although the depth was very great. When we passed through them, it seemed as though we were entering another sea. Leaving Chipit to the east, we found two island, Zolo and Taghima,[442] which lie toward the west, and near which pearls are found.[443] The two pearls of the king of Burne were found there, and the king got them, as was told us, in the following manner. That king took to wife a daughter of the king of Zolo, who told him that her father had those two pearls. The king determined to get possession of them by hook or by crook. Going one night with five hundred praus,[444] he captured the king and two of his sons, and took them to Burne with him. [He told] the king of Zolo that if he wished freedom, he must surrender the two pearls to him.

Poy al leuante carta del grego pa/a//emo fra dui habitatiõe dete cauit et subanin et vna J/ola habitata deta monoripa longi x legue da li monticeli La gente de que/ta hanno loro ca/e in barche et non habitano altroue in q^{e}lle due habitatiõe de cauit et subanin liq^{a}lli /onno ne la y/ola de butuan et Calaghan na/ce la meglior Canella q̃ /i po//a trouare /e /tauão iui p̱ dui giornj ne carigauano le naui ma p̱ hauer bon vento apa/are vna ponta et certe y/ollete q̃ erano circha de que/ta nõ vole//emo tardaꝛ̃ et andando a la vella barata//emo di/i-/ette libre p̱ dui cortelli grandi haue vamo tolti aL gouuernatoꝛ̃ de pulaoan larbore de que/ta Cannella he alt^{o} tre o catro cubito et gro//o como li diti de La mano et nõ ha piu de tre o catro rameti la /ua foglia he como q^{e}lla deL lauro La /ua /cor/a he La Cannella La /e coglie due volte a lanno co/i e forte lo legnio et le foglie e//endo verde como la cannella la chiamão caiu mana Caiu vol dire legno et mana dolce çioe legnio dolce.

Pigliando Lo camino aL grego et andando a vna cita grande detta maingda nao Laq^{a}lle he nela y/ola de butuan et calaghan acio /ape//emo q^{a}Lque noua de maluco piglia//emo p̱ for/a vno bigniday e come vno prao et amaza//emo /ette homini in que/to erano /olum dizidoto homini di/po/ti Quanto alguni alt^{i} vede//emo in que/te parte tucti deli principali de ma ingdanao fra que/ti vno ne di//e q̃ era fratello del re de maingdanao et che /apeua doue era



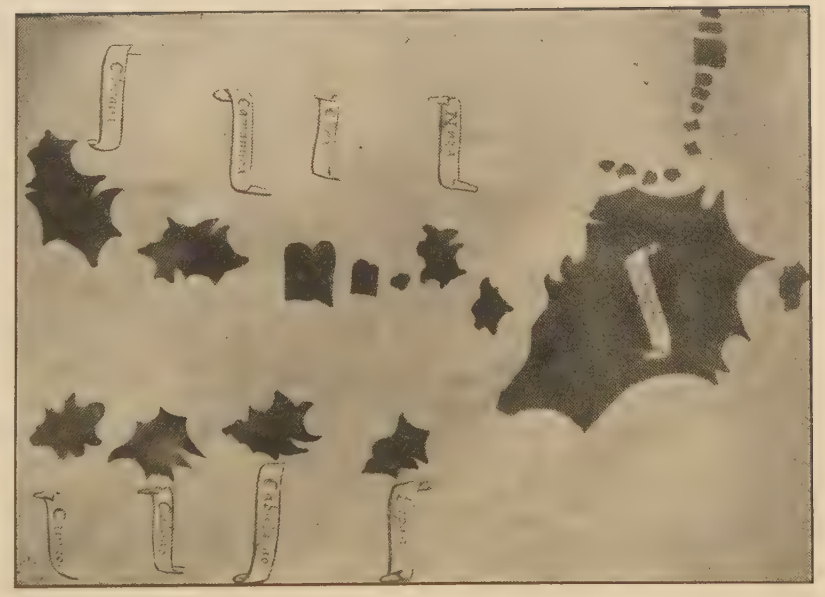
Then we laid our course east by north between two settlements called Cauit and Subanin, and an inhabited island called Monoripa, located x leguas from the reefs.[445] The people of that island make their dwellings in boats and do not live otherwise. In those two settlements of Cavit and Subanin, which are located in the island of Butuan and Calaghan, is found the best cinnamon that grows. Had we stayed there two days, those people would have laden our ships for us, but as we had a wind favorable for passing a point and certain islets which were near that island, we did not wish to delay. While under sail we bartered two large knives which we had taken from the governor of Pulaoan for seventeen libras [of cinnamon]. The cinnamon tree grows to a height of three or four cubits, and as thick as the fingers of the hand. It has but three or four small branches and its leaves resemble those of the laurel. Its bark is the cinnamon, and it is gathered twice per year. The wood and leaves are as strong as the cinnamon when they are green. Those people call it *caiu mana*. *Caiu* means wood, and *mana*, sweet, hence, "sweet wood."[446]

Laying our course toward the northeast, and going to a large city called Maingdanao, which is located in the island of Butuan and Calaghan, so that we might gather information concerning Maluco, we captured by force a *bigniday*,[447] a vessel resembling a prau, and killed seven men. It contained only eighteen men, and they were as well built as any whom we had seen in those regions.[448] All were chiefs of Maingdanao, among them being one who told us that he was a brother of the king of Maingdanao,

malucho ꝑ que/to la/a//emo la via del grego et piglia/ẽo la via de /iroco in vno capo de que/ta y/ola butuan et caleghan apre//o de vno fiume /e trouano hominj pelozi grandi//imi combatitori et arciere anno /pade largue vno palmo mangião /inon Lo core deL huomo crudo cõ /ugo de neranzi o limoni et /e chiamano benaian li pelo/i Quando piglia//emo La via deL /iroco /tauamo in /ey gradi et /ete menuti aLartico et trenta legui longi de cauit.

Andando aL /iroco troua//emo Quatro y/olle Ciboco biraham batolach Saranganj et candighar vno /abato de nocte a vinti /ey de octobre co/teando birahan batolach ne a//alto vna fortuna grandi//ima ꝑ ilque pregando ydio aba//a /emo tucte le velle Subito li tri no/tⁱ /ancti ne apar/ero de/caciando tuta la/curitate stº. elmo /tette piu de due hore incima lagabia como vna torchia stº. nicolo in cima dela mezana et stª chiara /oura lo trinqueto ꝑmete/emo vno /chiauo a/ancto elmo a stº nicolo et a Stª. chiara gli de//emo a ogny vno la/ua elemo/ina /eguendo poy nr̃o viagio intra//emo in vno porto in mezo de le due y/olle Saranghani et candighar et /e aferma/-/emo aL leuante apre//o vna habitatiõe de /arangani oue /e troua oro et perle Que/ti populi /onno gentili et vano nudi como gli altⁱ Que/to porto /ta de latitudine in cinque gradi et noue menuti et longi cinquanta legue de cauit.

Stando quiui vno giorno piglia//emo dui piloti ꝑ for/a acio ne in/egnia/eno malucho facendo nr̃o



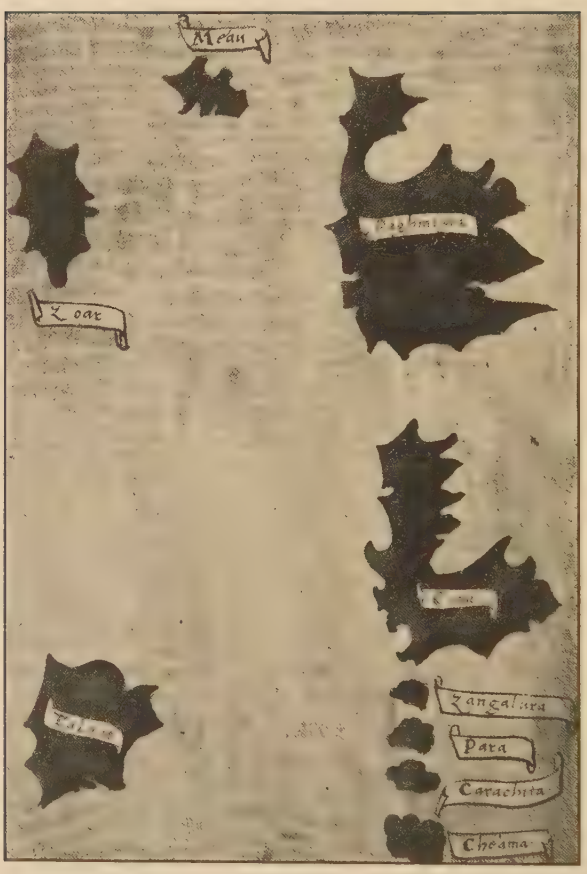
and that he knew the location of Malucho. Through his directions we discontinued our course toward the northeast, and took that toward the southeast. At a cape of that island of Butuan and Caleghan, and near a river, are found shaggy men who are exceedingly great fighters and archers. They use swords one palmo in length, and eat only raw human hearts with the juice of oranges or lemons.[449] Those shaggy people are called Benaian. When we took our course toward the southeast, we lay in a latitude of six degrees and seven minutes toward the Arctic Pole, and thirty[450] leguas from Cavit.[451]

Sailing toward the southeast, we found four islands, [namely], Ciboco, Biraham Batolach,[452] Sarangani, and Candighar.[453] One Saturday night, October twenty-six, while coasting by Birahan Batolach, we encountered a most furious storm. Thereupon, praying God, we lowered all the sails. Immediately our three saints appeared to us and dissipated all the darkness.[454] St. Elmo remained for more than two hours on the maintop, like a torch; St. Nicholas on the mizzentop; and St. Clara on the foretop. We promised a slave to St. Elmo, St. Nicholas, and St. Clara, and gave alms to each one. Then continuing our voyage, we entered a harbor between the two islands of Saranghani and Candighar, and anchored to the eastward near a settlement of Sarangani, where gold and pearls are found. Those people are heathens and go naked as do the others. That harbor lies in a latitude of five degrees nine minutes, and is fifty leguas from Cavit.

Remaining one day in that harbor, we captured two pilots by force, in order that they might show

viagio fª mezo giorno et garbin paſa//emo ꝑ octo yſole habitate et deſhabitate poſte in modo de vna via leqªlle ſe chiamano Cheaua Cauiao Cabiao Camanuca Cabaluzao cheai lipan et nuza fin que ariuaſ-ſemo in vna yſola poſta in fine de queſte molto bella aL vedere ꝑ hauere vento contrario et ꝑ non potere paſſare vna ponta de queſta yſo la andauamo dequa et dela çirca de ella ꝑ ilque vno de qᵉlli haueuamo pigliati a ſaranghai et Lo fratello deL re de maingdanao cõ vno ſuo figliolo picolo ne la nocte fugirono nuotando in queſta yſola ma iL figliolo ꝑ nõ potere tenere ſaldo ſoura le ſpalle de ſuo padre ſe anego ꝑ nõ potere caualcare la dicta punta paſſaſemo de ſoto dela yſola doue erano molte yſolette Queſta yſola tenne quatº re raia matandatu raia lalagha Raia bapti et raia parabu ſonno gentili ſta in tre gradi et mezo a lartico et 27. legue longi de ſaranghany. et edetta ſanghir.

Facendo lo medeſimo Camino paſaſſemo zirca ſey Jſolle cheama Carachita para zanghalura Ciau lontana diece legue da ſanghir Queſta tenne vno mõte alto ma nõ largo lo ſuo re chiama raia ponto et paghinzara Longo octo legue da ciau laqªlle a tre montagnie alte Lo ſuo re ſe chiama raia babintan talaut poy troua//emo aL leuante de paghinzara longi dodici legue due yſolle nõ molto grandi habitate dette zoar et meau paſſate queſte due yſolle


Meau
Zoar
Zangalura
Para
Carachita
Chéama

us where Malucho lay.[455] Then laying our course south southwest, we passed among eight inhabited and desert islands, which were situated in the manner of a street. Their names are Cheaua, Cauiao, Cabiao, Camanuca, Cabaluzao, Cheai, Lipan, and Nuza.[456] Finally we came to an island at their end, which was very beautiful to look at. As we had a contrary wind, so that we could not double a point of that island, we sailed hither and thither near it. Consequently, one of the men whom we had captured at Saranghai, and the brother of the king of Maingdanao who took with him his small son, escaped during the night by swimming to that island. But the boy was drowned, for he was unable to hold tightly to his father's shoulder. Being unable to double the said point, we passed below the island where there were many islets. That island has four kings, [namely], Raia Matandatu, Raia Lalagha, Raia Bapti, and Raia Parabu. The people are heathens. The island lies in a latitude of three and one-half degrees toward the Arctic Pole and is 27 leguas from Saranghany. Its name is Sanghir.[457]

Continuing the same course, we passed near six islands, [namely], Cheama, Carachita, Para, Zanghalura, Ciau (which is ten leguas from Sanghir, and has a high but not large mountain, and whose king is called Raia Ponto), and Paghinzara.[458] The latter is located eight leguas from Ciau, and has three high mountains. The name of its king is Raia Babintan.[459] [Then we found the island] Talaut; and we found twelve leguas to the east of Paghinzara two islands, not very large, but inhabited, called Zoar and Meau.[460] After passing those two islands, on

mercore a/ey de nouembr̃ di/coper/emo quat° y/olle alte aL leuante Longi dale due cadordice legue Lo pilloto q̃ ne era re/tato di//e Como q^elle quatro y/olle erão maluco ꝑ ilque rengratia//emo ydio et ꝑ allegreza de/carica//emo tuta La artigliaria non era de marauiliar/i /e eramo tanto alegri perche haueuão pa//ati vinti/ette me/i mancho dui giorni in cercare malucho ꝑ tute q3/te y/olle [ꝑ tute que/te y/olle: *doublet in original MS.*] fin amalucho eL menor fondo troua//emo era in cento et ducento bracia aL contrario Como diceuão li portugue/i q̃ quiui nõ /i poteua nauigare ꝑ li grã ba//i et iL çiello ob/curo como loro Se haueuão ymaginato.

Venere a octo de nouembr̃ 1521 tre hore inanzi lo tramontar deL /olle entra/e mo in vno porto duna y/olla deta Tadore et /urgendo apre//o terra in vinti bracia de/carica//emo tuta lartigliaria neL giorno /eguente venne lo re in vno prao a le naui et circundole vna volta /ubito li anda//emo contra cõ Lo batello ꝑ honnorarlo ne fece intrare nel /uo prao et /edere apre//o de/e lui /edeua /otto vna humbrela de Seta q̃ andaua intorno dinan/i de lui era vno /uo figliolo coL Scettro realle et dui cõ dui vazi de oro ꝑ dare hacqua ale manj et dui altrj cõ due ca//etine dorate pienne de q^elle betre. Lo re ne di//e fo//emo libẽ venuttj et Como lui Ja grã tempo /e haueua /ogniato alquante naue vegnire Amalu^co da luogui lontanj et ꝑ piu Certificar/i aueua voluto vedere ne la luna et vite como veniuano et q̃ nuy

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Wednesday, the sixth of November, we discovered four lofty islands fourteen leguas east of the two [abovementioned islands]. The pilot who still remained with us told us that those four islands were Maluco. Therefore, we thanked God and as an expression of our joy discharged all our artillery. It was no wonder that we were so glad, for we had passed twenty-seven months less two days in our search for Malucho.[461] Among all those islands [among all those islands: *doublet in original MS.*], even to Malucho, the shallowest bottom that we found was at a depth of one or two hundred brazas, notwithstanding the assertion of the Portuguese that that region could not be navigated because of the numerous shoals and the dark sky as they have imagined.[462]

Three hours before sunset on Friday, November eight, 1521,[463] we entered into a harbor of an island called Tadore, and anchoring near the shore in twenty brazas we fired all our artillery. Next day the king came to the ships in a prau, and circled about them once. We immediately went to meet him with the small boat, in order to show him honor. He made us enter his prau and seat ourselves near him. He was seated under a silk awning which sheltered him on all sides. In front of him was one of his sons with the royal scepter, and two persons with two gold jars to pour water on his hands, and two others with two gilded caskets filled with their betel. The king told us that we were welcome there, and that he had dreamt some time ago that some ships were coming to Malucho from remote parts; and that for more assurance he had determined to

eramo q^{e}lli Entrando lo re nelle nauy tucti li ba/aronno la mano poi lo Conducemo /oura la popa et neL en trare dentro nõ /e vo/ce aba//are ma entro de /oura via facendolo /edere in vna cathedra de veluto ro//o li ve/ti//emo vna ve/ta de veluto Jallo aLa turque/ca nui ꝑ piu /uo honnore /edeuão in terra apre//o lui e/endo tucti a/entati lo re comincio et di//e lui et tucti /ui populi volere /emꝑ e//ere fideli//emj amici et va//ali aL nr̃o re de/pagnia et acceptaua nuj Como /ui figlioli et doue/cemo de/cendere in terra Como nele ꝑrie ca/e no/t^{e} ꝑ che daq^{i} indietro /ua y/ola non /e chiameria piu tadore ma ca/tiglia ꝑ lamore grande portaua al nr̃o re Suo /igniore li dona//emo vno pñte q^{a}L fo la ve/te la cathedra vna pe//a de tella /otille Quatro bracia de panno de /carlata vno /aglio de brocato vno panno de dama/co giallo alguni panny indiany lauorati de oro et de /eta Vna peza de berania biancha tella de Cambaia dui bonnetj /ey filce de cri/talo dodici corteli tre /pechi grandi sey forfice /ey petini alquanti bichieri dorati et altre co/e aL /uo figliolo vno paño indianno de oro et de /eta vno /pechio grande vno bonnet et duy cortelli a noue alt^{i} /ui principali a ogni vno vno panno de /eta bonneti et dui cortellj et a molti alt^{i} aq^{i} bonneti et aq^{i} cortelli de//emo in fin queL re ne di//e doue /semo re/tare dopo ne di//e lui nõ hauer alt^{o} /inon la ꝑp^{ia} vita ꝑ mãdare al re /uo s. doue//emo nuj piu aꝑpincar/e a la cita

consult the moon,[464] whereupon he had seen the ships were coming, and that we were they. Upon the king entering our ships all kissed his hand and then we led him to the stern. When he entered inside there, he would not stoop, but entered from above.[465] Causing him to sit down in a red velvet chair, we clothed him in a yellow velvet robe made in the Turkish fashion. In order to show him greater honor, we sat down on the ground near him. Then when all were seated, the king began to speak and said that he and all his people desired ever to be the most loyal friends and vassals to our king of Spagnia. He received us as his children, and we could go ashore as if in our own houses, for from that time thenceforth, his island was to be called no more Tadore but Castiglia, because of the great love which he bore to our king, his sovereign. We made him a present which consisted of the robe, the chair, a piece of delicate linen, four brazas of scarlet cloth, a piece of brocaded silk, a piece of yellow damask, some Indian cloth embroidered with gold and silk, a piece of *berania* (the white linen of Cambaia), two caps, six strings of glass beads, twelve knives, three large mirrors, six pairs of scissors, six combs, some gilded drinking-cups,[466] and other articles. To his son we gave an Indian cloth of gold and silk, a large mirror, a cap, and two knives;[467] and to each of nine others – all of them his chiefs – a silk cloth, caps, and two knives; and to many others caps or knives. We kept giving presents until the king bade us desist. After that he declared to us that he had nothing else except his own life to send to the king his sovereign. We were to approach nearer to the city, and whoever

et se veniua de nocte ale naui li amaza//emo cõ li Schiopeti partendo//e de la popa may /e volce aba//are pigliata la li//entia di/care ca//emo tucte le bombarde· Que/to re he moro et for/i de quaranta cinque anny ben facto cõ vna pñtia realle et grandi//imo a/trologo alhora era ve/tito duna Cami/eta de tella biancha /oti li//ima cõli capi de le manigue lauorati doro et de vno panno dela cinta qua/i fina in terra et era de/cal/o haueua Jntorno Lo capo [lo capo: *doublet in original MS.*] vno velo de /eta et /oura vna girlanda de fiory et chiama//e raia /ultan Manzor.

Domenica a x de nouembr̃ Que/to re vol/e intendere quanto tempo era Se eramo partiti de/pagnia et Lo /oldo et la Quintalada ne daua il re açia/cuno de nui et voliua li de//emo vna firma deL re et vna bandiera reale ꝑ cñ daq^{i} inanzi La /ua J/ola et vnalt^{a} chiamata Tarenate de laq^{a}lle /eL poteua coronare vno /uo [figlio: *crossed out in original MS.*] nepote deto Calonaghapi farebe tucte due /erianno deL re de/pagnia et ꝑ honnore del /uo re era ꝑ combatere in/ino aLa morte et Quando non pote//e piu re/i/tere veniria in /pag^{a} lui etucti li /ui in vno Joncho faceua far de nuoua cõla firma et bãdera reale percio grã tempo era /uo /eruitor̃ ne prego li la/cia//emo algunj hominj acio ogni ora /e arecorda//e deL re de/pagnia et non mercadãtie ꝑ che loro non gli re/tarebenno et ne di//e voleua andare a vna J/ola chiamata bachian ꝑ fornirne piu pre/to le naui de

came to the ships at night, we were to kill with our muskets. In leaving the stern, the king would never bend his head.[468] When he took his leave we discharged all the guns. That king is a Moro and about forty-five years old. He is well built and has a royal presence,[469] and is an excellent astrologer. At that time he was clad in a shirt of the most delicate white stuff with the ends of the sleeves embroidered in gold, and in a cloth that reached from his waist to the ground. He was barefoot, and had a silk scarf wrapped about his head [his head: *doublet in original MS.*], and above it a garland of flowers. His name is Raia Sultan Manzor.[470]

On Sunday, November x, that king desired us to tell him how long it was since we had left Spagnia, and what pay and quintalada [471] the king gave to each of us. He requested us to give him a signature of the king and a royal banner, for then and thenceforth, he would cause it that his island and another called Tarenate (provided that he were able to crown one of his [sons: *crossed out in original MS.*] grandsons,[472] named Calonaghapi) would both belong to the king of Spagnia; and for the honor of his king he was ready to fight to the death, and when he could no longer resist, he would go to Spagnia with all his family in a junk [473] which he was having built new, carrying the royal signature and banner; and therefore he was the king's servant for a long time. He begged us to leave him some men so that he might constantly be reminded of the king of Spagnia. He did not ask for merchandise because the latter would not remain with him.[474] He told us that he would go to an island called Bachian, in order sooner to

garo/ali ꝑ cio nela /ua non eranno tanti de /echi fucero /oficientj a carigar le due naue ogi ꝑ e//ere domenicho non vol/e contractare JL giorno fe/tigiato da que/ti populi he Lo nr̃o vennere.

Açcio vr̃a JlL^{ma} s^{a}. /apra le y/olle doue na/cono li garofali Sonno cinque tarenatte Tadore mutir machian et bachian tarenate he la principalle et quãdo viueua lo /uo re signorigiaua ca/i tucte le altre Tadore et q^{e}lla doue eramo tienne re mutir et machian non anno re ma /e regenno a populo et quando li dui re de tarenate et de tadore fanno guera in/ieme Que/te due li /erueno de gente La vltima e bachian et tienne re tucta que/ta ꝑuin tia doue na/cono li garofali /e chiama malucho. non era ancora octo me/y que ero morto in tarenate vno franc^{o} /eranno portugue/e cap^{o} gñale deL re de tarenate contra Lo re de tadore et opero tanto que Con/trin/e Lo re de tadore donnare vna /ua figliola ꝑ moglie aL re de tarenate et qua/i tucti li figlioli deli principali ꝑ o/tagio de laq^{a}L figliola na/cete queL nepote deL re de tadore poy facta f^{a} loro la pace e//endo venuto vno giorno franc^{o} /eranno in tadore ꝑ contractare garofali que/to re lo fece velenare cõ q^{e}lle foglie de betre et viuete /inon catro Jornj il /uo re lo veleua far /epelire /econdo le /ue lege ma tre xp̃iani /ui /eruitorj non con/entirono Lo q^{a}L la/cio vno figliolo et vna figliola picoli de vna donna que tol/i in Jaua magiore et ducento

furnish the ships with cloves, for there were not enough dry cloves in his island to load the two ships. As that day was Sunday, it was decided not to trade. The festive day of those people is our Friday.

In order that your most illustrious Lordship may know the islands where cloves grow, they are five, [namely], Tarenatte, Tadore, Mutir, Machian, and Bachian. Tarenate is the chief one, and when its king was alive, he ruled nearly all the others. Tadore, the one where we were, has a king. Mutir and Machian have no king but are ruled by the people, and when the two kings of Tarenate and of Tadore engage in war, those two islands furnish them with men. The last island is Bachian, and it has a king. That entire province where cloves grow is called Malucho.[475] At that time it was not eight months since one Francesco Seranno[476] had died in Tarenate. [He was] a Portuguese and the captain-general of the king of Tarenate and opposed the king of Tadore. He did so well that he constrained the king of Tadore to give one of his daughters to wife to the king of Tarenate, and almost all the sons of the chiefs as hostages. The above mentioned grandson of the king of Tadore was born to that daughter. Peace having been made between the two kings, and when Francesco Seranno came one day to Tadore to trade cloves, the king of Tadore had him poisoned with the said betel leaves. He lived only four days. His king wished to have him buried according to his law [*i.e.*, with Mahometan rites], but three Christians who were his servants would not consent to it. He left a son and a daughter, both young, born by a woman whom he had taken to wife in Java Major,

bahar de garofoli co/tui era grande amicho et parente deL nr̃o fideL capº. gñale et fo cau/a de Comouerlo apigliar q3/ta inpre/a perche piu volte e//endo Lo ñro capº amalacha li haueua /cripto Como lui /taua iui D. manueL Ja re de portugaL p̱ nõ volere acre/cere la p̱ui/ione deL nr̃o capº gñale /olamente de vno te/tonne aL me/e p̱ li /ui bennemeriti venne in /pagnia et hebe dala /acra mage/ta tucto qᵉllo /epe demandare pa//ati x giorni dopo la morte de francº /eranno iL re de tarenate deto raya Abuleis hauendo de/caciato /uo gennero re de bachian fu avelenato de /ua figliola moglie del decto re Soto ombra de volere cõcludeř la pace fra loro il qᵃlle /campo /olum duy giornj et la/cio nuoue figlioly principali li loro nomy /ono que/ti Chechili momuli Jadore vunighi Chechili de roix Cili manzur Cili pagi Chialin Chechilin Cathara vaiechu Serich et calano ghapi.

Luni a xj de nouembř vno deli figlioli deL re de tarenate chechili de roix ve/tito de veluto ro//o venne ali naui cõ dui prao /onnando cõ qᵉlle borchie et nõ vol/e alhora entrare neli naui co/tui teneua la donna li figlioli et li altᵉ co/e de francº /eranno Quando lo Cognio//emo manda//emo dire al re /eL doueuão receuere p̱ che eramo neL /uo porto ne ri/po/e face//emo como voleuamo Lo figliolo deL re vedendone /tar /u/pe/i /e di/co/to alquanto da le naui li an da/emo cõlo batello apñtarli vno panno

and two hundred bahars of cloves. He was a close friend and a relative of our royal captain-general, and was the cause of inciting the latter to undertake that enterprise, for when our captain was at Malacha, he had written to him several times that he was in Tarenate. As Don Manuel, then king of Portugal, refused to increase our captain-general's pension by only a single testoon per month for his merits, the latter went to Spagnia, where he had obtained everything for which he could ask from his sacred Majesty.[477] Ten days after the death of Francesco Seranno, the king of Tarenate, by name, Raya Abuleis, having expelled his son-in-law, the king of Bachian, was poisoned by his daughter, the wife of the latter king, under pretext of trying to bring about peace between the two kings. The king lingered but two days, and left nine principal sons, whose names are Chechili Momuli, Jadore Vunighi, Chechili de Roix, Cili Manzur, Cili Pagi, Chialin, Chechilin Cathara, Vaiechu Serich, and Calano Ghapi.[478]

On Monday, November xi, one of the sons of the king of Tarenate, [to wit], Chechili de Roix, came to the ships clad in red velvet. He had two praus and his men were playing upon the abovementioned gongs. He refused to enter the ship at that time. He had [charge of] the wife and children, and the other possessions of Francesco Seranno. When we found out who he was, we sent a message to the king, asking him whether we should receive Chechili de Roix, since we were in his port, and he replied to us that we could do as we pleased. But the son of the king, seeing that we were hesitating, moved off somewhat from the ships. We went to him with the

de oro et de /eta indiano cõ alquãti Cortelli /pechi et forfice accepto li cõ vno pocho de /degnio et /ubito /e parti Co/tui haueua /eco vno Jndio xp̃iano chiamato Manuel /eruitoř dun pet° alfon/o de loro/a portughe/e loq[a]L dopo la morte de franc° /eranno vene de bandan ataranate iL /eruitoř ꝑ /apere parlare in portughe/e entro nele naue et di/-/enne /e ben li figlioli deL re de tarenate eranno nemici deL re de tadore niente de meno /empre /tauamo aL /eruitio deL re de /pagnia mã da/emo vna lřa apietro alfon/o de loro/a ꝑ que/to /uo /eruitoř doue//e vegnire /enza /u/pecto ni//uno.

Que/ti re teneno quante donne voleno ma ne anno vna ꝑ /uo moglie principale et tutte le altre hobedi/-conno aque/ta il re de tadore haueua vna ca/a grãde fuora de la çita doue e/tauano du cento /ue donne de li piu principali cõ alt[e] tante le /eruiuano Quando lo re mangia /ta /olo ho vero cõ la /uo mogle prin cipalle in vno luoco alt° Como vn tribunalle oue po vedere tucte le altre q̃ li /edenno atorno et aq[e]lla piu li piace li comanda vada dormire /echo q[e]la nocte finito lo mangiare /e lui comanda Q3 que/te mangião in/ieme Lo fanno /e non ognuna va mangiare nella /ua camera. Niuno /enza li/entia deL re le puo vedere et /e alguno he trouato o di giorno o de nocte apre//o la caza del re he amazato ogni famiglia he hobligata de dare aL re vna et due figliole Que/to re haueua vinti /ey figlioli octo ma/chi lo re/to femine Dinanzi a que/ta y/ola

boat in order to present him an Indian cloth of gold and silk, and some knives, mirrors, and scissors. He accepted them somewhat haughtily, and immediately departed. He had a Christian Indian with him named Manuel, the servant of one Petro Alfonso de Lorosa,[479] a Portuguese who went from Bandan to Tarenate, after the death of Francesco Seranno. As the servant knew how to talk Portuguese, he came aboard our ship, and told us that, although the sons of the king of Tarenate were at enmity with the king of Tadore, yet they were always at the service of the king of Spagnia. We[480] sent a letter to Pietro Alfonso de Lorosa, through his servant, [telling him] that he could come without any hesitation.

Those kings have as many women as they wish, but only one chief wife, whom all the others obey. The abovesaid king of Tadore had a large house outside of the city, where two hundred of his chief women lived with a like number of women to serve them. When the king eats, he sits alone or with his chief wife in a high place like a gallery whence he can see all the other women who sit about the gallery; and he orders her who best pleases him to sleep with him that night. After the king has finished eating, if he orders those women to eat together, they do so, but if not, each one goes to eat in her own chamber. No one is allowed to see those women without permission from the king, and if anyone is found near the king's house by day or by night, he is put to death. Every family is obliged to give the king one or two of its daughters. That king had twenty-six children, eight sons, and the rest daughters. Lying next that island there is a very large

nehe vna grandi//ima chiamata giailolo che he habitata de mory et da gentilli /e trouerano duy re fra li mory Si como ne di//e eL re vno ha ueř hauuto /eycento figlioli et lalt° cinque cento et vinti-cinque li gentili nõ teneno tante donne ne viueno cõ tante /uper/titioni ma adorana la p^ia co/a q̃ vedeno la matina quando e/conno fora de ca/a ꝑ tuto q^eL giorno JL re de que/ti gentilli deto raya papua e richi//imo de oro et habita dent° ne lay/ola in que/ta J/ola de giaiallo na/cono Soura /a//i viui cane gro//e Como la gamba pienne de acqua molto buona da bere ne Comprauão assay daque/ti populi.

Marti a dudici de nouembre il re fece fare in vno giorno vna ca/a nela cita ꝑ la nřa mercantia gli la porta//emo qua/i tuta et ꝑ guardia de quella la-/cia//emo tri homini de li nřj et /ubito Comincia/-/emo amerchadantare in que/to modo ꝑ x braçia de panno ro//o asay bonno ne dauano vno bahar de garofali q̃ he quat° q̃^i et /ey libř un Quintale e cento libř per quindici bracia de panno nõ tropo bonno un bahar ꝑ quindice accette vno bahar ꝑ trenta cinque bichieri de vetro vno bahar iL re li hebe tucti ꝑ dizi /ette Cachili de Cenaprio vn bahar ꝑ dizi/ete cathili de argento viuo vno bahar ꝑ vinti/ey bracia de tella vno bahar ꝑ vinticinque bracia de tella piu /otille vno bahar ꝑ cento cinquanta Cortelli vno bahar per cinquanta forfice vno bahar ꝑ quaranta bonneti vno bahar ꝑ x panny de guzerati vno bahar per tre de

island, called Giailolo [*i.e.*, Gilolo], which is inhabited by Moros and heathens. Two kings are found there among the Moros, one of them, as we were told by the king, having had six hundred children, and the other five hundred and twenty-five.[481] The heathens do not have so many women; nor do they live under so many superstitions, but adore for all that day the first thing that they see in the morning when they go out of their houses. The king of those heathens, called Raya Papua, is exceedingly rich in gold, and lives in the interior of the island. Reeds as thick around as the leg and filled with water that is very good to drink, grow on the flinty rocks in the island of Giaiallo.[482] We bought many of them from those people.

On Tuesday, November twelve, the king had a house built for us in the city in one day for our merchandise. We carried almost all of our goods thither, and left three of our men to guard them. We immediately began to trade in the following manner. For x brazas of red cloth of very good quality, they gave us one bahar of cloves, which is equivalent to four quintals and six libras; for fifteen brazas of cloth of not very good quality, one quintal and one hundred libras; for fifteen hatchets, one bahar; for thirty-five glass drinking-cups, one bahar (the king getting them all); for seventeen cathils of cinnabar, one bahar; for seventeen cathils of quicksilver, one bahar; for twenty-six brazas of linen, one bahar; for twenty-five brazas of finer linen, one bahar; for one hundred and fifty knives, one bahar; for fifty pairs of scissors, one bahar; for forty caps, one bahar; for x pieces of Guzerat cloth,[483] one bahar; for three

qᵉlle /ue borchie dui bahar ꝑ vno quintaL de metalo vno bahar tucti li /pechi eranno rocti et li pocqⁱ bonny Ly vol/e el re molte de que/te co/e eranno de qᵉlli Junci haueùamo pre/i la p̃/te/a de venire in /pagnia ne fece dare le nr̃e merchantie ꝑ miglior mercato non hauere//emo facto ogni giorno veniuano ale naui tante barque pienne de capre galine figui cochi et altre co/e da mangiare q̃ era vna marauiglia forni//emo li naui de hacqua buona Que/ta hacqua na/cie calda ma/e /ta ꝑ /pacio duna hora fora de /uo fonte diuenta frigidi//ima que/to e ꝑ q̃ na/ce neL monte delli garofoli aL contrario Como /e diceua in /pagnia lacqua e//er portata amaluco de longi parte.

Mercore lo re mando /uo figliolo deto mossahap a mutir ꝑ garofoli açcio piu pre/to ne forni//eno hogi dice//emo aL re Como haueuamo pre//i certj indij rengratio molto ydio et dicene liface//emo tanta gratia gli de//emo li pre/oni ꝑche li mandarebe nelle /ue terre cõ cinque hominj de li /ui ꝑ manife/tare deL re de/pagnia et de /ua fama alhora li dona//emo li tre donne pigliate in nome de la reyna ꝑ la cagiõe Ja detta JL giorno /eguente li apre/enta//emo tucti li pre/oni /aluo qᵉlli de burne ne hebe grandi//imo piacere. Dapoy ne di/ce doue/-/emo ꝑ /uo amore amazare tucti li porci haueuão

of those gongs of theirs, two bahars;[484] for one quinta of bronze [*metalo*], one bahar. [Almost] all the mirrors were broken, and the few good ones the king wished for himself. Many of those things [that we traded] were from the abovementioned junks which we had captured. Our haste to return to Spagnia made us dispose of our merchandise at better bargains [to the natives] than we should have done.[485] Daily so many boatloads of goats, fowls, figs [*i.e.*, bananas], cocoanuts, and other kinds of food were brought to the ships, that we were surprised. We supplied the ships with good water, which issues forth hot [from the ground], but if it stands for the space of an hour outside its spring, it becomes very cold, the reason therefor being that it comes from the mountain of cloves. This is quite the opposite from the assertion in Spagnia that water must be carried to Maluco from distant parts.[486]

On Wednesday, the king sent his son, named Mossahap, to Mutir, so that they might supply us more quickly. On that day we told the king that we had captured certain Indians. The king thanked God heartily, and asked us to do him the kindness to give him their persons, so that he might send them back to their land, with five of his own men, in order that they might make the king of Spagnia and his fame known. Then we gave him the three women who had been captured in the queen's name for the reason already advanced. Next day, we gave the king all the prisoners, except those from Burne, for which he thanked us fervently. Thereupon, he asked us, in order thereby to show our love for him, to kill all the swine that we had in

nele nauj ꝑ che ne darebe tante capre et galine gli amaza//emo ꝑ farli piaçere et li apicha//emo ſoto la Couuerta Quado Coſtoro ꝑ ventura li vedeuano ſe copriuano lo volto ꝑ non vederli ne ſentire lo ſuo odore.

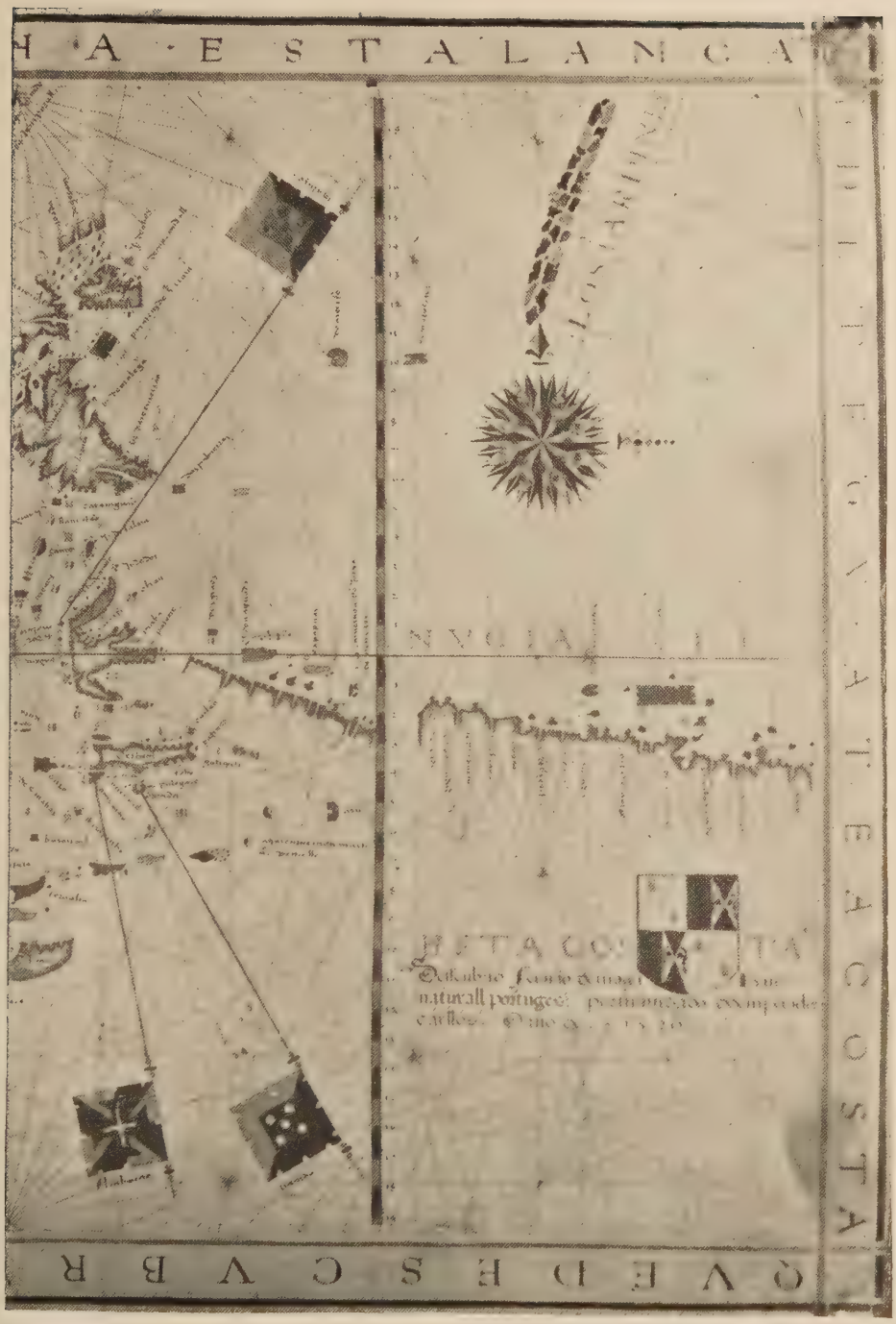
(*Continued in Vol. XXXIV, page 38.*)

the ships, in return for which he would give us an equal number of goats and fowls. We killed them in order to show him a pleasure,[487] and hung them up under the deck. When those people happen to see any swine they cover their faces in order that they might not look upon them or catch their odor.

(*Continued in Vol. XXXIV, page 39.*)

Map showing discoveries of
Fernão Vas Dou-

[*From original MS. in Archivo*



Magalhães, from *Mappamundo*
rado (Goa, 1571)
Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon]

NOTES

[*Note*: In the following notes, citations from Richard Eden are made from Arber's reprint *The first three English books on America* (Birmingham, 1885), from the third book, entitled *The decades of the newe worlde*, first printed in London in 1555; from Mosto, from *Il primo viaggio, intorno al globo di Antonio Pigafetta*, by Andrea da Mosto (Roma, 1894), which was published as a portion of part v of volume iii of *Raccolta di documenti e studi pubblicati dalla R. Commissione Colombiana pel quarto centenario dalla scoperta dell'America*, appearing under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction; and from Stanley, from his *First voyage round the world, by Magellan* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1874), which was translated by Lord Stanley in part from the longer French MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and in part from the Amoretti publication (Milan, 1800) made from the Italian MS. in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana.]

[1] The greater part of the life of Antonio Pigafetta is shrouded in darkness. The Pigafetta family, who resided at Venice, and was formerly of Tuscan origin, dates back before him for several centuries. The Pigafetta escutcheon was white above and black below with a white transverse bar running from left to right. On the lower part were three red roses, one of them on the bar. The old family house is still standing and shows the motto *Il nest rose sans espine, i.e.*, "No rose without a thorn," which was probably carved in 1481, when the house was repaired, and not by Antonio Pigafetta after his return from his voyage as some assert. Antonio Pigafetta was born toward the close of the fifteenth century, but the date cannot be positively fixed, some declaring it to be 1491; but Harrisse who follows Marzari, gives the date as 1480. It is unknown who his parents were and some have asserted that he was a natural child, although this is evidently unfounded, as he was received into the military order of St. John. At an early age he probably became familiar with the sea and developed his taste for traveling. He went to Spain with the Roman ambassador Chieregato, in 1519, but in what capacity is unknown. Hearing details of Magalhães's intended voyage he contrived to accompany him. Navarrete surmises that he is the Antonio Lombardo mentioned in the list of the captain's servants and volunteers who sailed on the expedition, so called

as his country was Lombardy. After the return of the "Victoria," he journeyed in Spain, Portugal, and France, and returned to Italy probably in January, 1523. The relation presented by him to Cárlos I was probably a draft of his notes taken daily throughout the voyage. His *Relation* as we know it was undertaken at the request of the marchioness of Mantova, but its composition was arrested by an order from Clement VII to come to Rome, whither he went in December, 1523, or January, 1524, meeting Villiers l'Isle-Adam on his journey thither. He remained in the pope's service but a short time, for in April, 1524, he was back in Venice. That same year he was granted a copyright on his *Relation*, which he intended to print, for twenty years. Pozzo says that he was received into the Order of St. John, October 3, 1524, but it was probably somewhat before that date. Between the dates of August, 1524, and August, 1530, his work was presented to Villiers l'Isle-Adam. Nothing further is known of him, though some say that he fought against the Turks as late as 1536, while others have placed his death in 1534 or 1535 and at Malta. In addition to his *Relation* Pigafetta wrote a *Treatise on the art of navigation*, which follows his *Relation*. This is not presented in the present publication, notwithstanding its importance, as being outside of the present scope. It is reproduced by Mosto. He has sometimes been confused with Marcantonio Pigafetta (a Venetian gentleman), the author of *Itinerario da Vienna a Constantinopoli* (London, 1585); and wrongly called Vincenzo Antonio Pigafetta, the "Vincenzo" being an error for "vicentino," *i.e.*, "Venetian." See Mosto, *Il primo viaggio...di Antonio Pigafetta* (Roma, 1894), pp. 13-30; Larousse's *Dictionnaire*; and *La grande Encyclopédie* (Paris).

[2] The Order of St. John of Jerusalem. See VOL. II, p. 26, note 2. Throughout this *Relation* Pigafetta's spelling of proper names is retained.

[3] Philippe de Villiers l'Isle-Adam, the forty-third grand master of the Order of the Knights of St. John (called Knights of Malta after 1530), was born of an old and distinguished family at Beauvais, in 1464, and died at Malta, August 21, 1534, at grief, some say, over the dissensions in his order. He was elected grand master of his order in 1521 and in the following year occurred his heroic defense of Rhodes with but four thousand five hundred soldiers against the huge fleet and army of Soliman. After six months he was compelled to surrender his stronghold in October, and refusing Soliman's entreaties to remain with him, went to Italy. In 1524 he was given the city of Viterbe by Clement VII, where in June of 1527 he held a general chapter of his order, at which it was decided to accept the island of Malta which had been offered by Charles V. The gift was confirmed by the letters-patent of Charles V in 1530, and Villiers l'Isle-

Adam went thither in October of that year. He was always held in high esteem for his bravery, prudence, and piety. See Moreri's *Dictionaire*, and Larousse's *Dictionnaire*.

[4] The four MSS. of Pigafetta's *Relation* are those known as the Ambrosian or Italian, so called from its place of deposit, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan; no. 5,650, conserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, in French; no. 24,224, in the same library, also in French; and the Nancy MS. (also French) so called because it was conserved in Nancy, France, now owned by the heirs of Sir Thomas Phillips, Cheltenham, England. The MSS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale are both shorter than the Italian MS. The Nancy MS. is said to be the most complete of the French manuscripts. The best bibliographical account of these four MSS. that has yet appeared is by Mosto *ut supra*. A full bibliographical account of both the MSS. and printed books will be given in the volume on bibliography in this series.

There are a number of radical differences between the Paris MS. no. 5,650 (which will be hereafter referred to simply as MS. 5,650) and the Italian MS., these differences including paragraph structure and the division of MS. 5,650 into various chapters, although the sequence is on the whole identical. The most radical of the differences will be shown in these notes. MS. 5,650 contains the following title on the page immediately preceding the beginning of the relation proper: "Navigation and discovery of Upper Indie, written by me, Anthoyne Pigaphete, a Venetian, and knight of Rhodes."

[5] The emperor Charles V; but he was not elected to that dignity until June, 1519. Pigafetta writing after that date is not explicit.

[6] Francesco Chiericati was born in Venice, in one of the most ancient and famous families of that city, at the end of the fifteenth century. He attained preëminence at Sienna in both civil and ecclesiastical law. Aided by Cardinal Matteo Lang, bishop of Sion, he was received among the prelates of the apostolic palace. Later he conducted several diplomatic missions with great skill. He left Rome for Spain in December, 1518, on a private mission for the pope, and especially to effect a crusade against the Turks who were then invading Egypt and threatening Christianity. His house at Barcelona became the meeting-place of the savants of that day who discussed literature and science. See Mosto, p. 19, note 3.

[7] MS. 5,650 adds: "scholars and men of understanding."

[8] MS. 5,650 reads: "so that I might satisfy the wish of the said gentlemen and also my own desire, so that it could be said that I had made the said voyage and indeed been an eyewitness of the things hereafter written."

[9] See VOL. I, p. 250, note 192 for sketch of Magalhães. The only adequate life of Magalhães in English is that of Guillemard.

[10] That is, the Order of Santiago. See VOL. I, p. 145, note 171. Magalhães and Falero were decorated with the cross of comendador of the order by Cárlos I in the presence of the royal Council in July, 1518. See Guillemard's *Ferdinand Magellan*, p. 114.

[11] See VOL. I for various documents during the period of the preparation of the fleet; also Guillemard's *Magellan*, pp. 114-116 and 130-134; and Stanley's *First Voyage*, pp. xxxiv-xlvi.

[12] Pope Clement VII, who assumed the papacy November 19, 1523. Pigafetta was summoned to Rome very soon after Clement's election, for he was in Rome either in December, 1523, or January, 1524.

[13] The Amoretti edition (Milan, 1800; a wofully garbled adaptation of the Italian MS.) wrongly ascribes this desire to Clement VII, instead of Villiers L'Isle-Adam. See Stanley, p. 36, note 3.

[14] MS. 5,650 reads: "Finally, most illustrious Lordship, after all provisions had been made and the ships were in readiness, the captain-general, a wise and virtuous man, and one mindful of his honor, would not commence his voyage without first making some good and suitable rules, such as it is the approved custom to make for those who go to sea, although he did not entirely declare the voyage that he was about to make lest those men, through astonishment and fear, should refuse to accompany him on the so long voyage that he had determined upon. In consideration of the furious and violent storms that reign on the Ocean Sea where he was about to sail, and in consideration of another reason also, namely, that the masters and captains of the other ships in his fleet had no liking for him (the reason for which I know not, unless because he, the captain-general, was a Portuguese, and they Spaniards or Castilians, who have for a long while been biased and ill-disposed toward one another, but who, in spite of that, rendered him obedience), he made his rules such as follow, so that his ships might not go astray or become separated from one another during storms at sea. He published those rules and gave them in writing to every master in the ships and ordered them to be inviolably observed and kept, unless for urgent and legitimate excuse, and the proof that any other action was impossible."

[15] A Spanish word, meaning "lantern."

[16] Mosto wrongly derives *strengue* from the Spanish *trenza* "braid" or "twist." Instead it is the Spanish word *estrenque*,

which denotes a large rope made from Spanish grass hemp (*stipa*) – known to the Spaniards as *esparto*. MS. 5,650 reads: "Sometimes he set out a lantern; at other times a thick rush cord which was lighted and was called 'trenche' [*i.e.*, 'estrenque,' 'rope of Spanish grass hemp']." Barcio (*Diccionario general etimológico*) says that the origin of *estrenque* is unknown.

[17] MS. 5,650 reads: "If he wished the other ships to haul in a bonnet-sail, which was a part of the sail attached to the mainsail, he showed three lights. Also by three lights notwithstanding that the weather might be favorable for making better time, it was understood that the bonnet-sail was to be hauled in, so that the mainsail might be sooner and easier struck and furled when bad weather came suddenly in any squall or otherwise."

[18] MS. 5,650 adds: "which he had extinguished immediately after;" and continues: "then showing a single light as a sign that he intended to stop there and wait until the other ships should do as he."

[19] MS. 5,650 adds: "that is to say, a rock in the sea."

[20] Stanley translates the following passage wrongly. Rightly translated, it is: "Also when he desired the bonnet-sail to be reattached to the sail, he showed three fires."

[21] This passage is omitted in MS. 5,650.

[22] *Hora de la modorra* is in Spanish that part of the night immediately preceding the dawn. Mosto, p. 52, note 8.

[23] *Contra maestro* (boatswain) corresponding to the French contremaître and the Spanish *contramaestre*, was formerly the third officer of a ship's crew. Nochiero (French *nocher*) was the officer next to contramaestre, although the name, according to Littré was applied to the master or seacaptain of certain small craft. The *maestro* (French *maître*) was a sub-officer in charge of all the crew. The pilot was next to the captain in importance. The translator or adapter who made MS. 5,650 confuses the above officers (see following note).

[24] The instructions pertaining to the different watches are as follows in MS. 5,650: "In addition to the said rules for carrying on the art of navigation as is fitting, and in order to avoid the dangers that may come upon those who do not have watches set, the said captain, who was skilled in the things required and in navigation, ordered three watches to be set. The first was at the beginning of the night; the second at midnight; and the third toward daybreak, which is commonly called the 'diane' [*i.e.*, 'morn'] or otherwise 'the star of dawn.' The above-named watches were changed nightly: that is to say, that he who had stood first watch stood second the day following, while he

who had stood second, stood third; and thus did they continue to change nightly. The said captain ordered that his rules, both those of signals and of watches, be thoroughly observed, so that their voyage might be made with the greatest of safety. The men of the said fleet were divided into three divisions: the first was that of the captain; the second that of the pilot or boatswain's mate; and the third that of the master. The above rules having been instituted, the captain-general determined to depart, as follows."

[25] See Guillemard's *Magellan*, pp. 329-336, and Navarrete, *Col. de viages*, iv, pp. 3-11, 162-188, for the stores and equipments of the fleet and their cost. The stores carried consisted of wine, olive oil, vinegar, fish, pork, peas and beans, flour, garlic, cheese, honey, almonds, anchovies, raisins, prunes, figs, sugar, quince preserves, capers, mustard, beef, and rice. The apothecary supplies were carried in the "Trinidad," and the ecclesiastical ornaments in that ship and the "San Antonio."

[26] The exact number of men who accompanied Magalhães is a matter of doubt. A royal decree, dated Barcelona, May 5, 1519, conserved in the papers of the India House of Trade in Archivo general de Indias at Sevilla, with pressmark est. 41, caj. 6, leg. 2-25, orders that only two hundred and thirty-five persons sail in the fleet. The same archives contain various registers of the fleet (see Llorens Ascensio's *Primera vuelta al mundo*, Madrid, 1903), one of which is published by Medina in his *Colección* (i, p. 113). Guillemard (*Magellan*, p. 326) says that at least two hundred and sixty-eight men went as is shown by the official lists and "the casual occurrence of names in the numerous and lengthy *autos fiscales* connected with the expedition." Guillemard conjectures that the total number must have been between two hundred and seventy and two hundred and eighty. Mosto (p. 53, note 2) says: "Castanheda and Barros say that the crews amounted to 250 men, while Herrera says 234. Navarrete's lists show a total of 265 men. At least 37 were Portuguese, and in addition to them and the Spaniards, the crews contained Genoese and Italians (thirty or more), French (nineteen), Flemings, Germans, Sicilians, English, Corfiotes, Malays, Negroes, Moors, Madeirans, and natives of the Azores and Canary Islands. But seventeen are recorded from Seville, while there are many Biscayans. (See Guillemard, *ut supra*, pp. 326-329.) The registers of men as given by Navarrete (*Col. de viages*, iv, pp. 12-26) are as follows.

Trinidad

(Flagship of 110 tons)

Capacity	*Name*	*Nationality*
Chief captain of the fleet	Hernando de Magallanes	Portuguese, citizen of Oporto
Pilot of his Highness	Esteban Gomez	Portuguese
Notary	Leon de Espeleta	
Master	Juan Bautista de Punzorol [1]	Cestre, on the Genoese shore
Alguacil [2]	Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa	Espinosa
Contramaestre	Francisco Albo [3]	Axio, citizen of Rodas
Surgeon	Juan de Morales [4]	Sevilla
Barber	Marcos de Bayas	San Lucar de Alpechin
Carpenter	Master Antonio	Genoese
Steward	Cristóbal Ros *or* Rodriguez	Lepe
Calker	Felipe [5]	Genoese, native of Reco
Cooper	Francisco Martin	Sevilla
Sailor	Francisco de Espinosa	De le Brizuela
"	Ginés de Mafra	Jerez
"	Leon Pancaldo [6]	Saona, in Génova
"	Juan Ginovés [7]	San Remó
"	Francisco Piora	Saona
"	Martin Ginovés	Cestre
"	Anton Hernandez Colmenero	Huelva
"	Anton Ros, *or* Rodriguez	Huelva

[1] Called in other lists Juan Bautista, Bautista de Poncero, Ponceron, and by Herrera, Juan Bautista de Poncevera.—Navarrete.

[2] A marine officer above the rank of soldier, but below that of ensign.

[3] The pilot who wrote the logbook of the ship "Victoria" from its arrival at the cape of San Augustin in Brazil until its return to Spain. Navarrete says that Herrera calls him Francisco Calvo.

[4] Called Bachelor Morales in another register.—Navarrete.

[5] Called Filipo de Troa in another register.—Navarrete.

[6] Called Pancado in another register.—Navarrete.

[7] Called Sanrremo Ginovés in another register.—Navarrete.

Capacity	*Name*	*Nationality*
Sailor	Bartolomé Sanchez	Huelva
"	Tomas de Natia	Cestre
"	Diego Martin	Huelva
"	Domingo de Urrutia [1]	Lequeitio
"	Francisco Martin	Huelva
"	Juan Rodriguez	Sevilla
Gunner	Master Andres, chief gunner	Bristol, in England
"	Juan Bautista	Mompeller
"	Guillermo Tañegui	Lila de Groya
Common seaman	Antonio de Goa	Loró
"	Anton de Noya [2]	Noya in Galicia
"	Francisco de Ayamonte	Ayamonte
"	Juan de Santandres [3]	Cueto
"	Blas de Toledo [4]	Almunia in Aragon
"	Anton [5]	Black
"	Basco Gomez Gallego	Portuguese
"	Juan Gallego	Pontevedra
"	Luis de Beas [6]	Beas in Galicia
"	Juan de Grijol	Grijol in Portugal
Boy	Gutierrez	Asturian from Villasevil
"	Juan Genovés [7]	A port on the Genoese shore
"	Andres de la Cruz [8]	Sevilla
	Servants of the captain and sobresalientes [9]	
Servant	Cristóbal Rabelo	Portuguese, native of Oporto
Sobresaliente	Joan Miñez *or* Martinez	Sevilla

[1] Called in other registers, Barruti, Barrutia, Barote, and Domingo Vizcaino.—Navarrete.

[2] Called Anton Gallego and Antonio Varela in other registers.—Navarrete.

[3] Called Juan de Santander in another register.—Navarrete.

[4] Called Blas Durango in another register.—Navarrete.

[5] The slave of Gonzalo Gomez de Espinoza, called Anton Moreno in another register.—Navarrete.

[6] Said to be a Portuguese in another register.—Navarrete.

[7] Called Juan Antonio in another register.—Navarrete.

[8] Called Andres Paye in another register.—Navarrete.

[9] *Sobresaliente* is thus defined by Las Partiday—the laws of Castilla, compiled by Alfonso X.—parte I., tit. 24, ley 6: "Sobresalientes are called otherwise men who are placed over and above the requisite number in the ships, both as crossbowmen and other classes of soldiers. Such men have no other duty than to defend those who might be in their ships when fighting with enemies." Cited by Mosto from A. Jal in *Glossaire*

Capacity	*Name*	*Nationality*
Servant	Fernando Portogues [1]	Portuguese, native of Oporto
Sobresaliente	Antonio Lombardo [2]	Lombardía
	Peti-Joan	French, native of Angeo [*i.e.*, Anjou]
	Gonzalo Rodriguez	Portuguese
	Diego Sanchez Barrasa	Sevilla
	Luis Alonso, *de Gois* [3]	Portuguese, citizen of Ayamonte
	Duarte Barbosa	Portuguese
	Albaro de la Mezquita	Portuguese
Servant	Nuño	Portuguese, native of Montemayor Nuevo
Servant	Diego	San Lucar
Captain's boy	Francisco [4]	Portuguese, native of Estremiz
Idem	Jorge Morisco	Lombardía
Chaplain	Pedro de Balderrama	Ecija
Merino	Alberto [5] Merino	Cordova
Servant of the alguacil	Pero Gomez	Hornilla la Prieta
Armorer	Pero Sanchez [6]	Sevilla
Interpreter, a servant	Henrique de Malaca [7]	Malaca
	Lázaro de Torres	Aracena

nautique. (Paris, 1848). Mosto speaks of them as soldiers or volunteers who were embarked to take part in battles and in boarding. Guillemard says of them: "The young men of good family, who took part in the expedition from love of adventure or desire for advancement in military service, shipped as *sobresalientes*, or supernumeraries" (*ut supra*, p. 328).

[1] Called in another register, Fernan Lopez, volunteer.—NAVARRETE.

[2] Called Antonio de Plegafetis [*i.e.*, Pigafetta] in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[3] Called Luis Alfonso in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[4] Called Francisco de la Mezquita in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[5] Called Albertos, a sobresaliente, in another register.—NAVARRETE.
Merino: A shepherd, and formerly by extension an alguacil, which is its meaning here.

[6] Called Pedro Sanildes in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[7] Magalhães's slave, who afterward, according to Pigafetta, plotted the death of the Europeans, by conspiring with the ruler of Cebu.

SAN ANTONIO
(120 tons)

Capacity	*Name*	*Nationality*
Captain and supervisor of the fleet	Juan de Cartagena	
Accountant	Antonio de Coca	
Notary	Hierónimo Guerra	
His Majesty's pilot	Andres de San Martin	
Pilot of his Highness	Juan Rodriguez de Mafra	
Master	Juan de Elorriaga [1]	Guipúzcoa
Boatswain	Diego Hernandez	Sevilla
Barber	Pedro Olabarrieta [2]	Bilbao
Steward	Juan Ortiz de Gopegar [3]	Bilbao
Calker	Pedro de Bilbao	Bilbao
Carpenter	Pedro de Sabtua	Bermeo
Calker	Martin de Goytisolo	Baquio
Cooper	Joan de Oviedo	Sevilla
Sailor	Sebastian de Olarte	Bilbao
"	Lope de Uguarte	
"	Joanes de Segura	Segura in Guipúzcoa
"	Joan de Francia	Ruan [*i.e.*, Rouen]
"	Jácome de Mecina	Mesina
"	Christóbal García	From Palos
"	Pero Hernandez	Rivadesella
"	Antonio Rodriguez, Calderero [*i.e.*, blacksmith]	Sevilla
	Hernando de Morales [4]	From Moguer
"	Francisco, Marinero [*i.e.*, a sailor]	Citizen of Huelva
"	Francisco Ros, *or* Rodriguez	From Huelva
"	Pedro de Laredo	Portogalete
"	Simon de Asio	Axio

[1] Called in other registers, Uriaga, Hurriaga, Loriaga, and Elorraga.—NAVARRETE.
[2] In another register said to be the servant of Antonio de Coca.—NAVARRETE.
[3] Called Juan Ortiz de Goperi in another register.—NAVARRETE.
[4] Called Francisco de Morales in another register.—NAVARRETE.

Capacity	*Name*	*Nationality*
Gunner	Master Jacques, chief gunner	From Tierra Lorena [*i.e.*, land of Lorraine]
"	Rojer Dupict	Monaym
"	Joan Jorge	Silvedrin
Common seaman	Luis,[1] Grumete [*i.e.*, a common seaman]	Galicia
"	Martin de Aguirre	Arrigorriaga
"	Columbazo	Bolonia [*i.e.*, Bologna]
"	Lucas de Mecina	Mesina
"	Lorencio Rodriguez	From Moguer
"	Miguel	Pravia, in Astúrias
"	Joanes de Irun Iranzo	Irun Iranza in Guipúzcoa
"	Joan Ginoves	Saona
"	Joan de Orue	Munguia
"	Alonso del Puerto [2]	Puerto de Santa María
Boy	Diego, son of Cristóbal Garcia	From Palos
"	Diego, son of Juan Rodriguez de Mafra	
	Servants and sobresalientes	
Chaplain	Bernardo Calmeta	Laytora in France
Sobresaliente	Joan de Chinchilla	Murcia
"	Anton de Escobar	Talavera
"	Francisco de Angulo	Moron
Servant to the captain	Francisco de Molino	Baeza
"	Roque Pelea	Salamanca
"	Rodrigo Nieto, a Galician	Orense
"	Alonso del Rio	Búrgos
"	Pedro de Balpuesta	Citizen of Búrgos
"	Joan de Leon	Leon
"	Gutierre de Tuñon [3]	Tunon in Astúrias
"	Joan de Sagredo,[4] merino	Revenga, in the land of Búrgos
"	Joan de Minchaca, a crossbowman	Bilbao

[1] Luis de Avendaño in another register.—NAVARRETE.
[2] Called Alonso de Palos in another register.—NAVARRETE.
[3] Called García de Tunon in another register.—NAVARRETE.
[4] Called Segredo in another register.—NAVARRETE.

Capacity	*Name*	*Nationality*
Captain's servant	Antonio Hernandez, interpreter	Ayamonte
Servant to the accountant	Juan Gomez de Espinosa	Espinosa
"	Pedro de Urrea	Brujas
	CONCEPCION (90 tons)	
Captain	Gaspar de Quesada	
Notary	Sancho de Heredia	
Pilot of his Highness	Joan Lopez Caraballo	Portuguese
Master	Joan Sebastian de Elcano [1]	Guetaria
Boatswain	Joan de Acurio	Bermeo
Barber	Hernando de Bustamente [2]	Mérida
Calker	Antonio de Basazabal [3]	Bermeo
Carpenter	Domingo de Iraza [4]	Deva
Steward	Joan de Campos	Alcalá de Henares
Cooper	Pero Perez	Sevilla
Sailor	Francisco Rodriguez [5]	Sevilla
"	Francisco Ruiz	Moguer
"	Mateo de Gorfo [6]	Gorfo
"	Joan Rodriguez [7]	Huelva
"	Sebastian Garcia [8]	Huelva
"	Gomez Hernandez	Huelva
"	Lorenzo de Iruna [9]	Socavila in Guipúzcoa
"	Joan Rodriguez,[10] el sordo [*i.e.*, the deaf man]	Sevilla
"	Joan de Aguirre	Bermeo
"	Joan de Ortega	Cifuentes

[1] In other registers called Del Cano, Delcano, and simply Juan Sebastian.—NAVARRETE.

[2] Said to be a native of Alcantara in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[3] Called Anton de Bazaza in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[4] Called Domingo de Yarza in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[5] Said to be a native of Portugal in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[6] Called Mateo Griego in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[7] Called in another register Juan Rodriguez de Huelva, native of Mallorca.—NAVARRETE.

[8] Called Sebastian de Huelva in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[9] Called Lorenzo Duirna in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[10] Called Juan Roiz in another register.—NAVARRETE.

Capacity	*Name*	*Nationality*
Gunner	Hans Vargue,[1] chief gunner	German
"	Master Pedro	Bruselas
"	Roldan de Argote	Flandes, in Brujas
Common seaman	Joan de Olivar [2]	
"	Guillermo de Lole [3]	
"	Cristóbal de Costa [4]	Jerez
"	Guillen	Galvey
"	Gonzalo de Vigo	Vigo
"	Pedro de Muguertegui	Muguertegui
"	Martin de Isaurraga	Bermeo
"	Rodrigo Macias	Sevilla
"	Joan Navarro [5]	Pamplona
"	Joanes de Tuy	
Boy	Juanillo [6]	Galbey
"	Pedro de Churdurza [7]	Bermeo

Sobresalientes

Captain's servant	Luis del Molino	Baeza
"	Antonio Fernandez	Portuguese, of Sevilla
"	Alonso Coto [8]	Genoese
"	Francisco Diaz de Madrid	Madrid
Merino	Martin de Judicibus	Genoese
	Juan de Silva	Isla Graciosa, in Azores
Blacksmith	Gonzalo Hernandez	Santa María del Puerto
	Martin de Magallayns	Portuguese, of Lisboa
	Joan de la Torre	Almonaster, a boundary of Sevilla

VICTORIA
(85 tons)

Captain and treasurer of fleet	Luis de Mendoza	

[1] In other registers called Master Ance and Master Otans.—NAVARRETE.
[2] Called Oliver de Valencia in another register.—NAVARRETE.
[3] Called Guillermo Irés in another register.—NAVARRETE.
[4] Called Cristobal de Jerez in another register.—NAVARRETE.
[5] Called Juan Novoro in another register.—NAVARRETE.
[6] In another register called the young son of Juan Caraballo.—NAVARRETE.
[7] Called Pedro Chindurza in another register.—NAVARRETE.
[8] In other registers called Alonzo Genoves, Cota, and Costa.—NAVARRETE.

Capacity	*Name*	*Nationality*
Pilot of his Highness	Basco Gallego	Portuguese
Notary	Martin Mendez	Citizen of Sevilla
Master	Anton Salomon	Trápana in Sicilia
Boatswain	Miguel de Rodas	Rodas
Alguacil	Diego de Peralta	Peralta in Navarra
Steward	Alonso Gonzales	Portuguese
Calker	Simon de la Rochela	From La Rochela
Carpenter	Martin de Griate [1]	From Deva
Sailor	Miguel Benesciano	Bresá
"	Diego Gallego	Bayona in Galicia
"	Lope Navarro	Tudela
"	Nicolas Ginoves	Génova
"	Nicolao de Nápoles	Nápoles de Romanía
"	Miguel Sanchez	Rodas
"	Nicolao de Capua	Capua
"	Benito Genovés	Arvenga
"	Felipe de Rodas	Rodas
"	Esteban Villon [2]	Troya
"	Joan Griego	Nápoles de Romanía
Gunner	Jorge Aleman [*i.e.*, the German], chief gunner	From Estric
"	Filiberto de Torres [3]	Toriana
"	Hans, a German [4]	Agan
Common seaman	Joanico,[5] a Viscayan	Somorostro
"	Joan de Arratia [6]	Bilbao
"	Ochote [7]	Bilbao
"	Martin de Ayamonte	
"	Pedro de Tolosa	Tolosa in Guipúzcoa
"	Sebastian Ortiz	Gelver
"	Antonio	Baresa in Génova
"	Bernal Mahuri [8]	Narbona
"	Rodrigo Gallego [*i.e.*, a Galician]	Coruña

[1] Called in other registers Garate, Yarat, and Perez.—NAVARRETE.

[2] Called in another register Estéban Breton, and a third register says that he was a native of Trosig in Bretaña.—NAVARRETE.

[3] Another register says that he was a native of Hourienes in Torayn [*i.e.*, Tourraine.]—NAVARRETE.

[4] Another register calls him Airés, and says that he was afterward chief gunner in the "Victoria."—NAVARRETE.

[5] Called in another register Machin Vizcaino [*i.e.*, a Viscayan].—NAVARRETE.

[6] In other registers called Juan de Sahelices and Saylices.—NAVARRETE.

[7] Called in another register Ochot de Randio.—NAVARRETE.

[8] In other registers called Cristôbal Mahuri and Bernardo Mauri.—NAVARRETE.

Capacity	*Name*	*Nationality*
Common seaman	Domingo Portogues [*i.e.*, a Portuguese]	Coimbra
Boy	Juan de Zuvileta, the son of Basco Gallego	Baracaldo

Sobresalientes

The captain's servant	Francisco Carvajal	Salamanca
"	Joan Martin [1]	Aguilar de Campo
"	Simon de Burgos	Portuguese
"	Bartolomé de Saldaña	Palos
Blacksmith	Gonzalo Rodriguez	
"	Pero Garcia de Herrero [2]	Ciudad Real
	Joan Villalon	Antequera
	Alonso de Mora, *or* de Ebora [3]	Mora, in Portugal
Cooper	Joan de Córdoba	Sanlúcar
	Diego Diaz	Sanlúcar

SANTIAGO
(75 tons)

Captain and pilot of his Highness	Joan Serrano	Citizen of Sevilla
Notary	Antonio de Costa	
Master	Baltasar Ginoves	Ribera de Génova [*i.e.*, the Genoese shore]
Boatswain	Bartolomé Prior [4]	San Malo
Steward	Gaspar Diaz	Isla Graciosa, in the Azores
Calker	Joan García	Génova
Carpenter	Ripart [5]	Bruz in Normandia [*i.e.*, Normandy]
Sailor	Antonio Flamenco [*i.e.*, a Fleming]	Enveres

[1] Another register declares him to be a native of Sevilla.—NAVARRETE.

[2] Called Pedro Herrero [*i.e.*, the blacksmith] in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[3] Called Alonso Portugués [*i.e.*, the Portuguese] in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[4] Called in other registers Malo a Frenchman, Malvo, and Amalo.—NAVARRETE.

[5] Called in other registers Ricarte, Ruxar, and Rigarte; while another says that he was a native of Ebras in France.—NAVARRETE.

Capacity[1]	*Name*	*Nationality*
Sailor	Luis Martinez	Huelva
"	Bartolomé García	Palos
"	Joan García	Palos
"	Agustin	Saona
"	Bocacio Alfonso [1]	Bollullos
"	Pedro Gascon [2] [*i.e.*, a Gascon]	Burdeos [*i.e.*, Bordeaux]
"	Domingo [3]	
"	Diego García de Trigueros	Trigueros
Gunner	Lorenzo Corrat	Talesa in Normandia [*i.e.*, Normandy]
"	Joan Macia [4]	Troya
Common seaman	Pedro Diaz [5]	Huelva
"	Antonio Hernandez [6]	Palos
"	Juan,[7] a negro	
"	Joan Breton [*i.e.*, a Breton]	Cruesic in Bretaña [*i.e.*, Brittany]
"	Pedro Bello [8]	Palos
"	Hierónimo Garcia [9]	Sevilla
"	Pero Arnaot	Horrai
"	Pero Garcia	Trigueros
Boy	Joan Flamenco [*i.e.*, a Fleming]	Enveres
"	Francisco Paxe [10]	

Sobresalientes

Merino	Joan de Aroche	Aroche, boundary of Sevilla
	Martin Barrena	Villafranco in Guipúzcoa
	Hernan Lorenzo	Aroche

[1] Called Socacio Alonso in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[2] Called Pedro Gaston in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[3] Called Domingo Marinero [*i.e.*, a sailor] in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[4] Called Juan de Troya in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[5] Called Pedro de Huelva in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[6] Called Alonso Hernandez in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[7] The slave of Juan Serrano.—NAVARRETE.

[8] Pedro Brito in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[9] Geronimo Sevillano [*i.e.*, a native of Sevilla] in another register.—NAVARRETE.

[10] Another register calls him Francisco, the son-in-law of Juan Serrano.—NAVARRETE.

The total number of men for the ships as above given is 235. Navarrete made his list from the list conserved in Archivo general de Indias, and notes of Juan Bautista Muñoz, and various other sources. The obstacles in the way of a correct register were the abbreviation of names and places, the custom prevalent of naming people from their native town or province, and the fact that the various registers were made between 1519 and 1525. From some of these registers, it appears that the following men were also in the fleet.

Capacity	*Name*	*Nationality*
Carpenter	Aroca	Viscayan
Steward	Blas Alfonso	Portuguese
Calker	Juan Gutierrez	
	Maestre Pedro [1]	
Sailor	Bautista Genovés	Génova
Common seaman	Perucho de Bermeo	
"	Domingo Alvarez	
"	Domingo Gonzalez	
"	Domingo de Zubillan [2]	Portuguese
"	Andres Blanco	
"	Antonio Gomez	Axio
"	Juan Portugués [*i.e.*, a Portuguese]	
"	Juan Bras	
"	Gonzalo Gallego	
"	Rodrigo de Hurrira	
	Sebastian Portugués [*i.e.*, a Portuguese]	
	Juan de Ircepais	

Sobresalientes

Secular priest	Pero Sanchez de Reina
	Licentiate Morales
	Hernando Rodriguez
	Hartiga
	Diugurria

[1] This man was Shanghaied at the island of Teneriffe by order of Magalhães, October 1, 1519, and embarked on the "Santiago," but his occupation or country is unknown. He returned in the "Victoria," and was one of those captured by the Portuguese in the island of Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands, as is proved by documents in Archivo General de Indias.—NAVARRETE.

[2] Named in other registers Domingo, from Tovilla, Portugal, and Domingo, native of Cobillana, Portugal.—NAVARRETE.

Capacity	*Name*	*Nationality*
Soldier	Diego Arias	Sanlúcar
Blacksmith	Juan Hernandez	Triana
Servant of Luis de Mendoza	Hernando de Aguilar	
	The negro of the pilot Juan Carballo	

In addition there were probably others, this list being still three short of Guillemard's figures, 268. Harrisse (*Disc. of N. Amer.*, London and Paris, 1892, pp. 714 *et seq.*) gives a partial list.

[27] The Moorish name of Guadalquivir (from Arabic *Wâd-al-Kebir*, "the great river"), superseded the Roman name of Bætis. The Romans formed all Southern Spain into one province called Bætica after the name of the Bætis. By the town Gioan dal Farax is meant San Juan de Aznalfarache (from Moorish *Hisn al-Faradj*). Its Gothic name was Osset and its Roman name Julia Constantia. It is a favorite resort of the inhabitants of Sevilla. Coría was once a Roman potters' town and is still celebrated for its jars. San Lúcar de Barrameda was named in honor of St. Luke. It was captured from the Moors in 1264 and granted to the father of Guzman el Bueno. It attained importance after the discovery of America because of its good harbor. The house of Medina-Sidonia was founded by Alfonso Pérez de Guzman, a famous captain.

[28] The original of this passage is obscure. The distance given (ten leagues; and both MS. 5,650 and Eden agree substantially with it) is far too short for the distance between San Lucar and Cape St. Vincent, which is over one hundred miles. Pigafetta may have forgotten the actual distance, or it may have been an error of his amanuensis. It is possible to translate as follows: "which lies in 37 degrees of latitude, [that parallel being] x leguas from the said port;" for "longui" may be taken as agreeing with "gradi." In all rendering of distances, the Spanish form will be used in preference to the Italian; and the same will apply to the names of Spanish coins.

[29] MS. 5,650 reads: "And after passing many small villages along the said river, we at last reached a chateau belonging to the duke of Medinacidonia, and called Sainct Lucar, where there is a port with an entrance into the Ocean Sea. One enters that port by the east wind, and leaves by the west. Nearby is the cape of Sainct Vincent, which, according to cosmography, lies in a latitude of thirty-seven degrees at a distance of twenty miles from

the said port. From the said city [of Sevilla] to the said port by the river abovesaid, the distance is thirty-five or forty miles." This passage might be cited as a proof that Pigafetta did not translate or write the French version, but that the work was done by another, who takes various liberties with his original.

[30] MS. 5,650 reads: "furnish the fleet."

[31] *Ninguna* in original, a Spanish word.

[32] MS. 5,650 adds: "otherwise called 'labeiche.'" Labech (Italian libeccio) is simply a name for the southwest wind. This is another instance in which the French adapter adds an explanation to the Italian, thus explaining the Italian term *garbino*, "southwest."

[33] MS. 5,650 reads wrongly: "sixteenth." The so-called Genoese pilot (the author of the "Roteiro," by which name his account will be hereafter designated, and concerning whom, see Guillemard's *Magellan*, p. 145, and Mosto, p. 32, and note 4) gives the date of departure as September 21 (with which Barros agrees) and the arrival at Tenerife as the twenty-ninth (see Stanley, p. 1). Peter Martyr, Gomara, and Oviedo agree with Pigafetta, while Castanheda makes the departure in January, 1520. Hughes observes that if one keep in mind the circumstance that the day of the arrival coincided with the day dedicated by the Church to St. Michael, the date September 29 seems more admissible. However, one may reconcile the two dates of the arrival by observing that the ships stopped at Tenerife until October 2; while Herrera says that the ships fetched Montaña Roja (the Monte rosso of the text) on September 29. See Mosto, p. 53, notes 4 and 5. It should be noted that Gomara and Oviedo are not entirely trustworthy authorities, and that many times they have simply copied from authorities, such as Maximilianus Transylvanus, who is not always to be relied upon.

[34] The Canaries were known to the ancients under the names of Islands of the Blest, Fortunate Islands, and the Hesperides. The Moors knew of them under the name of Islands of Khaledat, but had no practical acquaintance with them. In the fourteenth century these islands began to be known to Europeans, especially through the Portuguese. In 1402, the Frenchman Jean de Bethencourt went there, and shortly after began their conquest under the auspices of the crown of Castile. In consequence of the settlements made by Bethencourt, the islands were definitely ceded to Spain in 1481 (see Birch's *Alboquerque*, London, 1875-1884, Hakluyt Society Publications, ii, p. vi). The inhabitants of the islands were known as Guanches or Guanchinet, the latter meaning "men of Tenerife." The inhabitants of this island, holding out longer than the others, were not subdued until 1496. See also *Conquest of Canaries* (London, 1877); and *History and De-*

scription of Africa (London, 1896), i, pp. 99-101: both publications of the Hakluyt Society. The island of Tenerife was formerly called Nivana and by some the Island of Hell. Like all the other islands of the Canaries it is volcanic in formation, and its peak, the Teyde, is one of the largest volcanic cones known. Its latitude is 28° 15′.

[35] Guillemard conjectures that this is Punta Roxa, located at the south end of Tenerife.

[36] MS. 5,650 adds: "which is a substance needed by ships." Herrera says that they waited three days at the port awaiting a caravel that was laden with pitch for the fleet (Mosto, p. 53, note 8).

[37] MS. 5,650 reads: "water coming from spring or river."

[38] Eden (p. 250) adds to this account which he greatly abridges: "The lyke thynge is alſo ſeene in the Iland of ſaynt Thomas, lyinge directly vnder the Equinoctiall lyne." Of this island of Hierro, Pory (*History and description of Africa*, Hakluyt Society edition, p. 100) says: "Hierro hath neither spring nor well, but is miraculously furnished with water by a cloud which over-spreadeth a tree, from whence distilleth so much moisture, as sufficeth both for men and cattel. This cloud ariseth an hower or two before the sunne, and is dissolued two howers after sunne rising." This is an old story and is related by Pliny and founded upon fact "for both in Madeira and the Canaries the laurel and other heavy-foliaged evergreens condense abundant water from the daily mists" (Guillemard's *Magellan*, p. 149). Gregorio Chil y Naranio (*Estudios históricos . . . de las islas Canarias*, 1879) believes Pigafetta means here the island of Palma, and that the first navigators visited only the coast and so did not see the lake in the interior (Mosto, p. 53, note 9).

[39] MS. 5,650 adds: "which the sailors of the east call 'Cyroc.'" This is the Italian *sirocco*, which is the name for the southeast wind instead of the south. Herrera says they left the port October 2 (Mosto, p. 54, note 2).

[40] Eden (p. 250) reads incorrectly: "In this coaſt they had no maner of contrary wynds but a great calme and fayre wether for the ſpace of three ſcore and tenne dayes, in the which they came vnder the Equinoctiall lyne."

[41] MS. 5,650 adds: "and of those persons who have sailed there often."

[42] MS. 5,650 reads: "And in order that our ships might not be wrecked or broach to (which often happens when the squalls come together)."

[43] This last phrase, as well as the two following sentences are missing in MS. 5,650. The third sentence following begins: "During the calm weather, large fish called tiburoni," etc. The word *tiburoni*, "sharks" is from the Spanish *tiburon*, which comes from the French *tibéron* (*tiburin, tiburon*). – Echagaray's *Diccionario Etimológico* (Madrid, 1889).

[44] MS. 5,650 reads: "The said fish are caught by means of a contrivance which sailors call 'hame' which is an iron fishhook." *Hame* (*ain*) is the French form of the Italian *Amo*, meaning "fishhook."

[45] MS. 5,650 adds: "because of the bad weather."

[46] MS. 5,650 reads "a quarter of an hour," and the same duration of time is given by Eden (p. 250).

[47] MS. 5,650 adds: "It is to be noted that whenever that fire that represents the said Saint Anselme ascends and descends the mast of a ship while in a storm at sea, that the said ship is never wrecked." Herrera (cited by Mosto, p. 54, note 5) says that St. Elmo appeared on the masthead with a lighted candle and sometimes two during the storms encountered along the coasts of Guinea, and that the sailors were greatly comforted thereby, and saluted the saint as is the custom of seamen. When he appeared, he remained a quarter of an hour, and at his departure a great flash of light occurred which blinded all the men. Eden (p. 250) calls it the fire of St. Helen. Continuing, Eden injects into his abridgment of the first circumnavigation a description of St. Elmo's fire by Hieronimus Cardanus in the second book of *De Subtilitate*. He says: "Of the kynde of trewe fyer, is the fyer baule or ſtarre commonly cauled ſaynt Helen which is ſumtyme ſeene abowt the maſtes of ſhyppes, beinge of ſuche fyery nature that it ſumetyme melteth braſen veſſels, and is a token of drownyng, foraſmuch as this chaunceth only in great tempeſtes. For the vapoure or exhalation whereof this fyre is engendered, can not bee dryven togyther or compacte in forme of fyre, but of a groſe vapoure and by a great poure of wynde, and is therfore a token of imminent perell." The fires called after St. Peter and St. Nicholas are on the contrary, he says, good omens, and are generally to be seen on the cables, after a storm. Being little and swift moving they can do no damage as they could do if massed and of slow movement. St. Elmo's fire is the popular name for the atmospheric electricity that gathers in the form of a star or brush about the masthead of ships and on the rigging. It was sometimes accompanied by a hissing noise and was considered as a good omen by sailors. The Greeks who observed this phenomenon wove it into the Castor and Pollux myth; and the French edition of Pigafetta's relation published by Simon de

Colines has the passage (see Mosto, p. 54): "They saw the fires called Sainct Eline and Sainct Nicolas like blazing torches (whom the ancients called Castor and Pollux)." "Elmo" is said by some to be a corruption of "Helena," the sister of Castor and Pollux, and the name "Hellene" or "Helen" was often given to the fire when only one light was visible. It is, however, more probably derived from St. Elmo, bishop of Formine who died about 304, and who is invoked by sailors on the Mediterranean. The phenomenon is also called fire of "St. Elias," "St. Clara," "St. Nicolas," and "composite," "composant," and "corposant (*i.e., corpus sanctum*)."

[48] The second bird mentioned is the stormy petrel (of the family *Laridæ* and genus *Thalassidroma*), which is found along all the Atlantic coasts and on some of the Pacific. The tale of the text was current among sailors (see Wilkes, *U. S. Exploring Expedition*, viii, pp. 402, 403). The cagassela ("cagaselo" in MS. 5,650) is the *Stercorarius parasiticus*, called also the jaeger, and by sailors "boatswain," "teaser," and "dung-hunter." The last name arose from the belief, long held even by scientists, that this bird fed on the dung of gulls and terns. In reality it pursues the latter birds and compels them to disgorge the fish that they have swallowed. The flying-fish is either a species of *Exocœtus*, or the *Scomberesox saurus* of Europe and America, both of which feed in large schools and jump from the water to escape their enemies. See *Riverside Natural History* (Boston and New York).

[49] MS. 5,650 adds: "which is the collateral wind between the south and the west;" and below reads: "twenty-four and one-half degrees;" while Eden (p. 250) reads: "xxii degrees and a halfe."

[50] *Verzino*, the etymology of which is unknown (see Varthema's *Travels*, Hakluyt Society edition, p. lxxviii, note, and 205 note), is the Italian name for brazil-wood, from which Brazil, which was first visited by Vicente Pinzon, Diego Lope, Pedro Alvares Cabral, and Amerigo Vespucci, was named. The first names of the country were Vera Cruz and Santa Cruz. Cape Santo Agostinho, mentioned below, lies in 8° 21′ south latitude, and is the most eastern headland of South America. It was the first land of that continent to be discovered, being sighted at least as early as 1500 by Pinzon. Before sighting the above cape, Magalhães arrested Juan de Cartagena for insubordination and gave the command of the "San Antonio" to Antonio de Coca (see Guillemard's *Magellan*, p. 153). Albo's log begins slightly before the sighting of the point, his first entry being November 29. See Burton's "Introduction" in his *Captivity of Hans Stade* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1874).

[51] MS. 5,650 reads: "veal." The *anta* is the tapir, once very plentiful in South America, but now rare in the well civilized districts. See Burton's *Captivity of Hans Stade*, p. viii. Albo, however, seems to designate the llama by this name, for he says when speaking of the stay at Bay St. Julian: "and many Indians came there, who are clad in certain skins of *antas*, which resemble camels without the hump." (Navarrete, *Col. de viages*, iv, p. 214).

[52] Stanley mistranslates the French phrase of MS. 5,650 *et est de la longueur dun naveau*, "and is of the length of a shuttle," confusing *naveau* with *navette*, "shuttle." *Naveau* here is equivalent to *navet*, "turnip" or *navette*, "rape," a plant of the turnip class, as is proved by the Italian.

[53] MS. 5,650 reads: "And for a king of cards, of the kind which are used to play with in Italy, they gave me five fowls." The four suits of Italian playing cards are called *spade* ("swords"), *bastoni* ("clubs"), *danari* (literally: "money;" "diamonds"), and *coppe* ("cups").

[54] MS. 5,650 reads: "five."

[55] MS. 5,650 adds: "which is an astrological term. That zenith is a point in the sky, according to astrologers, but only in the imagination, and is in a straight line over our head, as can be seen by the treatise of the sphere, and in Aristotle, in the first book *De caelo et mondo*." By the treatise of the sphere is evidently meant the treatise of Pigafetta which follows his relation, and which is not reproduced here as being outside the scope of the present work. In the flyleaf of the Italian original is the following: "Notices concerning the new world, with the charts of the countries discovered, written by Antonio Pigafeta, Venetian and knight of Rodi. At the end are added some rules for finding the longitude and latitude of places east and west." In the Italian MS. this treatise occupies the last twelve folios. Stanley translates Amoretti's version of the *Treatise*, which is greatly abridged. Mosto (p. 35) conjectures that the treatise is the fruits of his three-years' experience during the expedition.

[56] Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 210) says that the fleet continued to coast southwest from November 29 until arriving at St. Lucy's bay on December 13 (St. Lucy's day). Of the coast he says: "The mountains are peaked and have many reefs about them. There are many rivers and ports in the said Brasil and San Tomé, and some six leguas down the coast there are many bays running two leguas into the land. But the coast runs northeast and southwest to Cape Frio, and has many islands and rivers. Cape Frio is a very large river. . . . At the entrance of the said bay is a very large bay, and at the mouth a very low island, and inside it spreads out extensively and has many ports . . .

and is called the bay of Santa Lucía. . . . In the said bay, one finds a well-disposed and numerous race, who go naked and trade for fishhooks, mirrors, and hawk's bells with food. . . . We entered that place on the very day of St. Lucy, and stayed there until the day of St. John, namely, the twenty-seventh of the said month of December. On that day we went and took our course west southwest, and found seven islands. To the right of them is a bay called the bay of Los Reyes [*i.e.*, the Kings] which has a good entrance." The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 1) says: "as soon as they sighted the other coast of Brazil, he steered to the south-east [*sic*] along the coast as far as Cabo-frio, which is in twenty-three degrees south latitude; and from this cape he steered to the west, a matter of thirty leagues, to make the Rio de Janeiro, which is in the same latitude as Cabo-frio, and they entered the said river on the day of St. Lucy, which was the 13th December, in which place they took in wood, and they remained there until the first octave of Christmas, which was the 26th of December of the same year." Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 306) says: "Setting sail thence [*i.e.*, from Tenerife], the first land sighted was the cape of the shoals of Ambas. They descended the coast as far as the river called Janeiro, where they stayed 15 or 16 days."

[57] Eden (p. 251) says: "bygger then all Spayne, Portugale, Fraunce, and Italie."

[58] MS. 5,650 adds: "more like beasts than anything else."

[59] MS. 5,650 reads: "And some of those people live to the age of one hundred, one hundred and twenty, one hundred and forty, or more." Eden (p. 251) says: "C.xx. and C.xl. yeares." For description of the Brazil Indians, and their manners and customs, see *Captivity of Hans Stade* (Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 117-169.

[60] Wrongly transcribed by Stanley as "boy."

[61] MS. 5,650 reads: "You must know that a family of one hundred persons, who make a great racket, lives in each of those houses called *boii*." One of these houses (called Oca, in Tupi) is described by Wilson (*Transactions of Ethnological Society*, new series, vol. i) as being "60 or 70 feet long, divided into rooms for several families by rush mats, and provided with a central fire whose smoke passed through the roof. Some of them contained 200 head." See Burton's *Captivity of Hans Stade*, pp. 59, 60, note. The Indians described by Pigafetta are probably the Tamoyos of the Tupi or Guarani stock (Mosto, p. 56, note 1; see also Burton, *ut supra*, pp. lxi-lxxvi).

[62] Amoretti makes this passage read: "Their boats, called

canoes, are hollowed out from the single trunk of a huge tree;" understanding *maschize* as *massiccio* "huge." Mosto prefers to read *maschize* as two words *ma schize* (notwithstanding that it is one word in the original), for *ma schiacciate*, "but flattened." Accepting this, the translation would be: "They have boats made from one single tree, only flattened." Amoretti's interpretation is to be preferred.

[63] MS. 5,650 reads: "and one would believe them to be enemies from hell."

[64] MS. 5,650 adds: "of the said country of Verzin."

[65] MS. 5,650 reads: "daily." Amerigo Vespucci says in a letter (Mosto, p. 55, note 6): "I saw human flesh salted and suspended from the beams, in the same way as we are wont to hang up bacon and swine's flesh." See *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland reissue), for instances of cannibalism among the North American Indians. See also *Captivity of Hans Stade* (Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 151, 155-159; and Dominguez's *Conquest of the River Plate* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1891), pp. 129, 130.

[66] For *Carvagio*, as in MS. 5,650, and later in the Italian; an error of the amanuensis. This was João Carvalho (the Juan Lopez Caraballo of the register – see note 26, *ante*). Carvalho was a Portuguese, of none too scrupulous morals, even in his age, as appears later in Pigafetta's narrative. After the fatal banquet in the island of Cebú, he became the leader of the remaining men of the fleet, but was later deposed (see *post*, note 441). He remained behind with the ill-fated "Trinidad," and never returned to Europe. His son, borne to him by a native woman of Brazil, was left behind in Borneo. See Stanley, pp. 252-255, for Correa's account of the actions of Carvalho after the death of Magalhães.

[67] The early French edition and the Italian edition of 1536 both include the women and children. – STANLEY.

[68] It is a widespread (perhaps universal) characteristic of the American Indian to pull out the hair of the body. See *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland reissue).

[69] Eden (p. 45), defines *gatti mammoni* as monkeys. Monkeys of the genus *Cebus* are probably meant (Mosto, p. 55, note 8).

[70] MS. 5,650 reads: "fresh cheese." Pigafetta may here refer to the bread made from the casava or manioc root. See Burton's *Captivity of Hans Stade*, pp. 130-132, for a description of the method of preparing this root.

[71] The swine mentioned by Pigafetta is the Tayasu (Tagaçu), or peccari (*Dicotyles torquatus*), which has quills resembling those

of the porcupine, and is generally of a whitish color. It is tailless and very fierce and difficult to domesticate. The flesh was eaten; and the teeth were worn by some of the chiefs as necklaces. Burton (*ut supra*), p. 160, note.

[72] The *Platalea ajaja* or rosy spoonbill, belonging to the family of the *Plataleidæ*, whose habitat extends through all of tropical and subtropical America, including the West Indies, south to the Falkland Islands, Patagonia and Chile, and north to the southern part of the United States.

[73] Hans Stade (Burton, *ut supra*) testifies to the chastity of the people of Eastern Brazil among whom he lived as a prisoner.

[74] MS. 5,650 reads: "The women attend to the outside affairs, and carry everything necessary for their husband's food in small panniers on the head or fastened to the head."

[75] MS. 5,650 adds: "and compassion."

[76] MS. 5,650 reads: "When we departed they gave us a very great quantity of verzin;" and adds: "That is a color which comes from trees which grow in the said country, and so abundantly, that the country is called Verzin from it."

[77] MS. adds: "which was a piece of great simplicity."

[78] This sentence is preceded by the following in MS. 5,650: "Besides the abovesaid which proclaims their simplicity, the people of the above place showed us another very simple thing."

[79] This passage in Stanley reads as follows: "A beautiful young girl came one day inside the ship of our captain, where I was, and did not come except to seek for her luck: however, she directed her looks to the cabin of the master, and saw a nail, of a finger's length, and went and took it as something valuable and new, and hid it in her hair, for otherwise she would not have been able to conceal it, because she was naked, and, bending forwards, she went away; and the captain and I saw this mystery." The matter between the words "length" and "naked" is taken from MS. 24,224 (wrongly declared by Stanley to be the copy of his travels presented to the regent Louise by Pigafetta, the conclusion being based on the fact that some of the details are softened down), as Stanley considered the incident as told in MS. 5,650, the Italian MS. and the first French edition, as unfit for publication. Stanley cites the following (in the original) from the edition of 1536 which omits the above story: "At the first land at which we stopped, some female slaves whom we had brought in the ships from other countries and who were heavy with child, were taken with the pains of childbirth. Consequently, they went alone out of the ships, went ashore, and after having given birth, returned

immediately to the ships with their infants in their arms." He also cites the following passage from the first French printed edition, which also narrates the above story of the girl: "At the first coast that we passed, some slave women gave birth. When they were in travail, they left the boat, after which they immediately returned, and nursed their children." Stanley adds that this story of the slave women is improbable, as women were not allowed to come aboard ship.

[80] MS. 5,650 gives the words of the Brazil as follows: "maiz, huy, pinda, taesse, chignap, pirame, itenmaraca, tum maraghatom." Amoretti (see Stanley's edition, p. 48) reads *tacse* as *tarse* and *itanmaraca* as *Hanmaraca*. Stanley mistranslates the French *forcette* ("scissors") as "fork."

[81] Eden says (p. 251): "xxxiiii. degree and a halfe toward the pole Antartike."

[82] MS. 5,650 reads: "and to ask whether the others might come."

[83] MS. 5,650 reads: "That place was formerly called Cape Saincte Marye and it was thought that one could pass thence to the sea of Sur, that is to say the South Sea, but it has not been ascertained that any ships have ever discovered anything farther on." Eden (p. 251) reads: "Abowt the mouth of this ryuer, are ſeven ilandes, in the bygge/t whereof, they founde certeyne precious ſtones, and cauled it the cape of Saynt Marie. The Spanyardes thought that by this ryuer they might haue paſſed into the ſouth ſea. But they were deceaued in theyr opinion. For there was none other paſſage than by the ryuer which is xvii. leagues large in the mouth." This river was the Rio de la Plata. The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 2) says that Magalhães left Rio de Janeiro December 26, proceeding to the cape Santa María and the river which was called St. Christopher. There they remained until February 2, 1520. Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 211) also mentions the river which he calls the "river of Solís." The ships sent to look for a strait through the river were gone two days, and a careful exploration of the mouth of the river was made. Brito (Navarrete, iv, pp. 306, 307) says: "They left that place [*i.e.*, Rio de Janeiro] and coasted along shore until they reached the river called Solís, where Fernando Magallanes thought that he could find a strait. They stayed there forty days. Magallanes ordered the ship 'Santiago' to sail forward for about 50 leguas to see whether there was any passage. Not finding a passage, he crossed the river which is about 25 leguas wide and found the [opposite] coast which runs northeast and southwest." For early history of this region, see Dominguez's *Conquest of the River Plata.*

[84] Juan Diaz de Solis, a famous Spanish navigator, was born at Lebrixa, in 1470. He is said, although without sufficient authority, to have discovered Yucatan with Pinzon in 1506. He was appointed chief pilot of Spain after the death of Amerigo Vespucci in 1512. In October, 1515, he sailed in command of an expedition in search of a southwest passage to India. He discovered Rio de la Plata which he explored as far as the region of the Charrua tribe, by whom he and some of his men were killed and eaten before September, 1516. The remnant of the expedition was conducted back to Spain by his brother-in-law.

[85] Eden adds (p. 251): "which ſum thynke to bee thoſe fyſſhes that wee caule pikes." Below, the sea-wolf is described as having a head "of golden coloure." They were probably some species of the *Otariidæ* or fur-seals (Guillemard, p. 160, note). The "geese" were penguins. Albo, Herrera, and others, also mention the "sea-wolves and ducks." Kohl (*Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, xi, 362) says that this bay where the ships were laden with the seals and penguins is probably Desvelos Bay, but it is more probably Puerto Deseado ("Port Desire;" see Mosto, p. 57, note 2). Drake also secured fresh provisions from these "sea-wolves," calling the bay where he secured them "Seale Bay." See *World Encompassed* (Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 54, 55.

[86] Port St. Julian. The "Roteiro" pilot (Stanley, p. 3) says that they reached it on March 31, 1520, and places it in 49° 20′ south latitude. Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 214) says: "We went to a port called San Julian, where we entered the last day of March, and where we stayed until the day of St. Bartholomew. The said port lies in a latitude of 49 and two-thirds degrees. We pitched the ships in that port." Other writers give slightly different locations (see Mosto, p. 57, note 5). Antonio Brito, the Portuguese, whose MS. is preserved in the Torre do Tombo at Lisbon, writes in 1523 to the king of Portugal certain news obtained from some of the men of the "Trinidad." His information as might be expected, is at times faulty. Of Port St. Julian, he says: "They coasted along shore until they reached a river called San Juan where they wintered for four months."

[87] MS. 5,650 adds: "jumping up and down." The only reference made to the Patagonians by Albo is as follows: "Many Indians came there, who dress in certain skins of the *anta*, which resemble camels without the hump. They have certain bows made from cane, which are very small and resemble turkish bows. The arrows also resemble Turkish arrows, and are tipped with flint instead of iron. Those Indians are very prudent, swift runners, and very well-built and well-appearing men." (Navarrete, iv,

pp. 214, 215). Cf. with Pigafetta's account that given by Maximilianus Transylvanus, in VOL. I, pp. 303-337.

[88] MS. 5,650 reads: "he began to marvel and to be afraid."

[89] Guillemard, who follows the Amoretti edition, translates (p. 180) this passage: "His hair was short and colored white," but this translation is borne out by neither the Italian MS. nor MS. 5,650. Guillemard presents a picture of a Patagonian, as does also Wilkes (*Narrative of U. S. Exploring Expedition*, 1838-1842), i, facing p. 95. The latter describes Indians, whom the officers of the expedition thought to be Patagonians, and who were taller than average Europeans, as follows: "They had good figures and pleasant looking countenances, low foreheads, and high cheekbones, with broad faces, the lower part projecting; their hair was coarse and cut short on the crown leaving a narrow border of hair hanging down; over this they wore a kind of cap or band of skin or woolen yarn. The front teeth of all of them were very much worn, more apparent, however, in the old than in the young. On one foot they wore a rude skin sandal. Many of them had their faces painted in red and black stripes, with clay, soot, and ashes. Their whole appearance, together with their inflamed and sore eyes, was filthy and disgusting." They showed that they had had previous communication with white men. Their food was fish and shellfish, and they carried bows and arrows and had dogs. Brinton (*American Race*, New York, 1891) says that "The Patagonians call themselves Chonek or Tzoneca, or Inaken (men, people), and by their Pampean neighbors are referred to as Tehuel-Che, southerners." Many of them are "from six to six feet four inches in height, and built in proportion. In color they are a reddish brown, and have aquiline noses and good foreheads." Ramon Lista (*Viage al pais de los Tehuel-Ches*) gives the average height of the Patagonians as 1.854 m., and hence the early accounts of their great stature are greatly exaggerated (Mosto, p. 57, note 6). See also the description of the Patagonians in the "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 5); and *World encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 40, 56-61 (where the origin of the name "Patagonian" is wrongly given).

[90] The guanaco, a species of llama. See also VOL. II, p. 34, note 5*.

[91] Hence arose the name "Patagonians" or "men with big feet," given by Magalhães, because of the awkward appearance of the feet in such coverings, which were stuffed with straw for greater warmth.

[92] The words "somewhat thicker than those of a lute" are lacking in MS. 5,650.

[93] This sentence is omitted by MS. 5,650.

[94] Eden (p. 251) says "two," and following says that Magalhães gave the giant "certeyne haukes belles and other great belles, with al/o a lookynge gla//e, a combe, and a payre of beades of gla//e."

[95] MS. 5,650 adds: "on the face."

[96] MS. 5,650 omits "face."

[97] "For the smiths" is omitted by MS. 5,650.

[98] Maximilianus Transylvanus says that only one Patagonian was captured, but that he died shortly from self-starvation (VOL. I, pp. 314, 315). The "Roteiro" says (Stanley, p. 5) that three or four were captured, but all died except one, who went to Spain in the "San Antonio." Pigafetta's account, as given by an eye-witness, is to be preferred.

[99] MS. 5,650 reads: "for otherwise they could have caused some of our men trouble." Below Stanley (p. 53) again mistranslates the French "forces" as "forks."

[100] MS. 5,650 adds: "of malefactors," and reads farther: "and their faces lighted up at seeing those manacles."

[101] MS. 5,650 reads: "and they were grieved that they could not take the irons with their hands, for they were hindered by the other things that they were holding." Eden (p. 252) says at the end of his account of the capture: "Being thus taken, they were immediately /eperate and put in /undry /hyppes."

[102] MS. 5,650 adds: "that is, the big devil."

Arber in his introduction to *The first three English books on America* says that Shakespeare had access to *The decades of the newe worlde* of Eden, and created the character of Caliban (who invokes Setebos) in the *Tempest* from the description of the Patagonian giants. See also *World encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (Hakluyt Society edition), p. 48, for mention of the god Settaboth.

[103] MS. 5,650 reads: "the wife of one of the giants who had remained behind in irons."

[104] MS. 5,650 makes this plural.

[105] See *ante*, note 103.

[106] This word is omitted in MS. 5,650.

[107] MS. 5,650 adds: "in their language."

[108] MS. 5,650 omits this sentence.

[109] MS. 5,650 reads "instead of taking medicine." See *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland reissue) for examples

of medicine and surgery as practiced by the North American Indians.

[110] MS. 5,650 reads "two feet or so."

[111] MS. 5,650 reads "cut short and shaven like religious." Hans Stade also notices the tonsure among the Indians who captured him (see *Captivity of Hans Stade*, Hakluyt Society edition, pp. 136-138, and note, from which it appears that this manner of wearing the hair, was practiced among many Tupi tribes).

[112] Stanley (p. 55) does not translate this sentence, but gives the original from MS. 5,650.

[113] In MS. 5,650 this sentence reads as follows: "They seem to be painted, and one of those enemies is taller than the others, and makes a greater noise and gives expression to greater joy than the others."

[114] Mosto (p. 59) mistranscribes or misprints "Setebas." Roncagli (*Da punta arenas a Santo Cruz*, in "Bollettino della Società geografica italiana," 1884, p. 775) says that the Patagonians sacrificed to an evil spirit called "Wallichu." Brinton, *ut supra*, p. 328, says: "They are not without some religious rites, and are accustomed to salute the new moon, and at the beginning of any solemn undertaking to puff the smoke of their pipes to the four cardinal points, just as did the Algonquins and Iroquois."

[115] See *ante*, note 91. Stanley mistranscribes "Pataghoni" of MS. 5,650 as "Palaghom."

[116] A reference to the gypsies who had made their appearance in Italy as early as 1422, where they practiced various deceptions upon the credulous people. The name "Cingani" or Zingari, as they are generally called in Italy, comes from the Greek word *τἀσιγχανοι*, by which they were called by Byzantine writers of the ix-xii centuries; the same name appearing also in slightly different forms in Turkey, Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary, Bohemia, and Germany. Their ancestral home was probably in northwestern India, whence they emigrated in successive waves. In many countries extreme and harsh measures were taken against them, especially in Germany, where they had appeared as early as 1417. They were never allowed a foothold in France, but have become a significant part of the population in Russia, Hungary, and Spain. In the latter country, where they are called Gitános (Egyptians), in spite of many severe laws passed against them until the reign of Cárlos III, they continued, more fortunate than the Jews, to thrive. They are mentioned by Cervantes in his *Don Quixote* (pt. i, chap. xxx), but the name Gitáno had first appeared in a Spanish document of 1499, where their customs are described.

The few in Italy have been allowed to remain, and those in the Slavic countries and England were generally treated kindly. Their language is Aryan and was highly inflected; and while they have been given many names by the nations among whom they have lived, their own appellation is "Rom" "the man." See *New International Encyclopedia* (New York, 1903).

[117] MS. 5,650 reads: " capae; " but Stanley has mistranscribed " capac."

[118] Albo (Navarrete iv, p. 215), the "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 4), Transylvanus and Oviedo (Mosto, p. 59, note 3) give the date of departure from Port San Julian August 24, 1520; but the second errs in giving 5½ instead of 4½ months for the period for which the fleet remained there. Peter Martyr places the date of departure as August 21. Castanheda, who gives the same date says that the name " St. Julian " or " of the ducks " was given to that bay which he calls a river. Barros gives the date of arrival as April 2, and says that the place was called " river of Saõ Julião." See Mosto, *ut supra.*

[119] A portion of the passage relating to the attempted mutiny reads as follows in MS. 5,650: " However the treason was discovered, and as a consequence the treasurer was killed by a dagger and then quartered. Gaspar de Casada was beheaded and then quartered. The overseer trying shortly after to lead another mutiny, was banished together with a priest and set ashore on that land of Pathagonia." The Italian MS. is badly confused, while the above is more in accordance with the facts, and shows the hand of the translator and adapter. Eden (p. 252) says of the attempted mutiny: " They remayned fyue monethes in this porte of Sainte Iulian, where certeyne of the vnder capitaynes conſpirynge the death of theyr general, were hanged and quartered: Amonge whom the treaſurer Luigo of Mendozza was one. Certeyne of the other conſpirators, he left in the ſayd land of Patogoni." See the short account of the mutiny given by Transylvanus in VOL. I, p. 317, and the account given in the same volume, pp. 297, 299. The *Roteiro* (Stanley, p. 3) says that three of the ships revolted against Magalhães " saying that they intended to take him to Castile in arrest, as he was taking them all to destruction; " but Magalhães subdued the mutiny by the aid of the foreigners with him. Mendoza was killed by Espinosa the chief constable of the fleet, and Gaspar Quesada was beheaded and quartered. Alvaro de Mesquita, Magalhães's cousin, is wrongly reported to have been given command of one of the ships of those killed, but the command of the " San Antonio " that had previously been given to Antonio de Coca, after Magalhães had deprived Cartagena of it, had been given him before the real outbreak of the mutiny.

The narrative of the mutiny as given by Navarrete (*Col. de viages*, iv, pp. 34-38) which was compiled mainly from documents presented in the same volume and from Herrera, is as follows:

"March 31, the eve of Palm Sunday, Magallanes entered the port of San Julian, where he intended to winter, and consequently ordered the rations to be served by measure. In view of that and of the barrenness and cold of the country, the men asked Magallanes by various arguments to increase the rations or turn back, since there was no hope of finding the end of that country or any strait. But Magallanes replied that he would either die or accomplish what he had promised; that the king had ordered the voyage which he was to accomplish; and that he had to sail until he found that land or some strait which must surely exist; that in regard to the food, they had no reason to complain, since that bay had an abundance of good fish, good water, many game birds, and quantities of wood, and that bread and wine had not failed them, nor would fail them if they would abide by the rule regarding rations. Among other observations, he exhorted and begged them not to be found wanting in the valorous spirit which the Castilian nation had manifested and showed daily in greater affairs; and offering them corresponding rewards in the king's name. By such means did he quiet the men.

"April 1, Palm Sunday, Magallanes summoned all his captains, officers, and pilots to go ashore to hear mass and afterward to dine in his ship. Alvaro de la Mezquita, Antonio de Coca, and all the men went to hear mass. Louis de Mendoza, Gaspar de Quesada, and Juan de Cartagena (the latter because he was a prisoner in Quesada's keeping) did not go, however; and Alvaro de la Mezquita alone went to dine with Magallanes.

"During the night, Gaspar de Quesada and Juan de Cartagena with about thirty armed men of the ship 'Concepcion' went to the 'San Antonio,' where Quesada requested that the captain, Alvaro de la Mezquita, be surrendered to him, and told the crew of the ship to seize it, as they had already done with the 'Concepcion' and 'Victoria.' [He said] that they already knew how Magallanes had treated and was treating them, because they had asked him to fulfil the king's orders; that they were lost men; and that they should help him make another request of Magallanes, and if necessary, seize him. Juan de Elorriaga, the master of the 'San Antonio,' spoke in favor of his captain, Alvaro de la Mezquita, saying to Gaspar de Quesada: 'I summon you, in God's name and that of the king, Don Cárlos, to go to your ship, for the present is no time to go through the ships with armed men; and I also summon you to release our captain.' Thereupon Quesada replied: 'Must our deed remain unaccomplished because of this madman?' and drawing his dagger stabbed him four times in

the arm, thus overawing the men. Mezquita was kept prisoner, Elorriaga was cared for, Cartagena went to the ship 'Concepcion,' while Quesada remained in the 'San Antonio.' Thus were Quesada, Cartagena, and Mendoza masters of the three ships, 'San Antonio,' 'Concepcion,' and 'Victoria.'

"Thereupon, they sent a message to Magallanes to the effect that they held three ships and the small boats of all five at their disposal in order to require him to fulfil his Majesty's provisions. They said that they had done that in order that he might no longer illtreat them as he had done thitherto. If he would agree to fulfil his Majesty's orders, they would obey his commands, and [said] that if they had thitherto treated him as a superior, they would thenceforth treat him as a master, and would be most respectful to him.

"Magallanes sent word to them to come to his ship, where he would hear them and do what was proper. They answered that they did not dare come lest he illtreat them, but that he should go to the ship 'San Antonio,' where they would all assemble and decide definitely on what the king's orders commanded.

"Magallanes believing that boldness was more useful than meekness in the face of such actions, determined to employ craft and force together. He kept the small boat of the ship 'San Antonio' which was used for those negotiations, at his ship; and sent the alguacil, Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, in the skiff belonging to his ship, to the 'Victoria,' with six men armed secretly and a letter for the treasurer, Luis de Mendoza, in which he told the latter to come to the flagship. While the treasurer was reading the letter and smiling as if to say 'You don't catch me that way,' Espinosa stabbed him in the throat, while another sailor stabbed him at the same instant on the head so that he fell dead. Magallanes, being a man with foresight, sent a boat under command of Duarte Barbosa, sobresaliente of the 'Trinidad' with fifteen armed men, who entering the 'Victoria' flung the banner to the breeze without any resistance. That happened on April 2. Then the 'Victoria' approached the flagship, and they together immediately approached the 'Santiago.'

"On the following day, the 'San Antonio' and the 'Concepcion' which were held by Quesada and Cartagena tried to put to sea, but it was necessary for them to pass close to the flagship which stood farthest out. The 'San Antonio' raised two anchors, and being in danger with one, Quesada determined to free Alvaro de la Mezquita, whom he held a prisoner in his ship, in order to send him to Magallanes to arrange peace between them. Mezquita, however, told him that nothing would be obtained. Finally, they arranged that when they set sail, Mezquita should station himself forward and ask Magallanes as they approached his ship,

not to fire and that they would anchor provided affairs would be settled favorably.

"Before setting sail in the 'San Antonio,' where they were endangered, as it was night and the crew were asleep, the ship dragged and ran foul of the flagship. The latter discharged some large and small shots and men leaped aboard the 'San Antonio' crying, 'For whom are you?' they responding, 'For the king, our sovereign, and your Grace,' surrendered to Magallanes. The latter seized Quesada, the accountant, Antonio de Coca, and other sobresalientes who had gone to the 'San Antonio' with Quesada. Then he sent to the 'Concepcion' for Juan de Cartagena and imprisoned him with them.

"Next day Magallanes ordered the body of Mendoza taken ashore and had it quartered, and Mendoza cried as a traitor. On the seventh, he ordered Gaspar de Quesada beheaded and quartered with a like cry. That was done by Quesada's own follower and sobresaliente, Luis de Molino, in order to save himself from hanging, for that sentence had been passed on him. Magallanes sentenced Juan de Cartagena and the lay priest, Pedro Sanchez de la Reina, who had been active in causing the men to mutiny, to be marooned in that country. He pardoned more than forty men who merited death, as they were needed to work the ships, and so that he might not excite hard feelings by the severity of the punishment."

Brito's account of the mutiny (Navarrete, iv, p. 307) is very brief and unsatisfactory: "In that port the captains began to ask him where he was taking them, especially one Juan de Cartagena, who said that he had a royal cedula naming him as associate with Magallanes, as Rui Falero would also have been, had he been there. Then they tried to rise against Magallanes and kill him, and go back to Castilla or to Rodas. From that point they went to the river of Santa Cruz, where they endeavored to put their plan in execution. But when Magallanes discovered their ill-considered attempt, for the captains said that they would kill him or take him prisoner, he ordered his ship armed and Juan de Cartagena arrested. As soon as the other captains saw their chief arrested they thought no longer of prosecuting their attempt. Magallanes, however, seized them all, for most of the crew were in his favor. He sent the merino or alguacil to kill Luis de Mendoza with his dagger, for the latter refused to be arrested; while he had another named Gaspar Quesada beheaded. When they set sail, he left Juan de Cartagena together with a secular priest ashore at a place where there were no inhabitants."

Correa (Stanley, pp. 247-250) gives a different and imperfect account of the meeting.

Cf. with these accounts the one given by Guillemard (*Magellan*), pp. 162-174. When the "San Antonio" deserted, Esteban

Gomez is said to have rescued Cartagena and the priest. João Serrão (after the loss of the "Santiago") was given command of the "Concepcion," Mesquita of the "San Antonio," and Duarte Barbosa of the "Victoria," all Portuguese (Guillemard, *ut supra*, p. 179). It is rather singular that Sir Francis Drake should also have faced a mutiny in this same port, where Thomas Doughty was executed. That the history of Magalhães's expedition was generally known is evident from the following: "The next day after, being the twentieth of June, wee harboured ourselues againe in a very good harborough, called by Magellan *Port S. Julian*, where we found a gibbet standing upon the maine, which we supposed to be the place where *Magellan* did execution upon some of his disobedient and rebellious company." *World encompassed* (Hakluyt Society edition), p. 234.

[120] MS. 5,650 reads: "twenty-five leagues."

[121] Instead of this last phrase, MS. 5,650 reads: "and very little of that." The account of the shipwreck and rescue as given here is very confusing and inadequate. Cf. Guillemard, *ut supra*, pp. 175-179, and Navarrete, iv, pp. 38, 39. One man was lost, namely, the negro slave of João Serrão. The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 4) gives the briefest mention of it. Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 307) says: "After this [*i.e.*, the mutiny], they wintered for three months; and Magallanes again ordered the ship 'Santiago' to go ahead in order to explore. The ship was wrecked but all of its crew were saved." Correa's account (Stanley, p. 250) is very short, and mentions that only the hull of the vessel was lost.

[122] Mosto (p. 60, note 3) derives this word from the Spanish *mejillon*, a variety of cockle, which he thinks may be the *Mytilus* or common mussel.

[123] See VOL. II, p. 34, note 5*.

[124] Eden (p. 252) says: "52. degree . . . lackynge a thyrde parte."

[125] MS. 5,650 omits: "and the holy bodies," and has in its place: "by His grace."

[126] MS. 5,650 omits these last two words. The Italian form *braccio* is retained in view of these words; for the Spanish *braza* is a measure about equivalent to the English fathom, while the *braccio*, although varying in different cities, is near three palmos (spans) in length. The term is, however, translated *brasse* ("fathom") in MS. 5,650. Mosto (p. 60, note 8), conjectures this fish to be the *Eliginus maclovinus*. Of this fish, Theodore

Gill, the well-known ichthyologist, says in a letter of May 22, 1905: "The Italian editor gave a shrewd guess in the suggestion that the fish in question was what was formerly called *Eliginus maclovinus*. The only vulgar name that I have been able to find for it is 'robalo,' and this name is applied to it by the Spanish-speaking people of both sides of South America. Like most popular names, however, it is very misleading. 'Robalo' is the Spanish name for the European bass, which is nearly related to our striped bass or rock bass. To that fish the robalo of South America has no affinity or real resemblance, and belongs to a very different family peculiar to the southern hemisphere – the *Nototheniids*. The so-called *Eliginus maclovinus* (properly, *Eliginops maclovinus*) is the most common and widely distributed species and probably the one obtained by the fleet of Magalhães."

[127] Of the river Santa Cruz and the stay there, Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 215) says: "We left that place [*i.e.*, Port San Julian] on the 24th of the said month [of August] and coasted along to the southwest by west. About 30 leguas farther on, we found a river named Santa Cruz, which we entered on the 26th of the same month. We stayed there until the day of San Lucas, the 18th of the month of October. We caught many fish there and got wood and water. That coast extends northeast by east and southwest by west, and is an excellent coast with good indentations." The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 4) places the river Santa Cruz twenty leagues from San Julian and in about 50°. That narrative says that the four remaining boats continued to pick up the wreckage of the "Santiago" until September 18. The name Santa Cruz was said to have been given to the river because they entered it on September 14, the day of the exaltation of the holy cross (see Stanley, p. 4, note 4, and Mosto, p. 60, note 7), but Kohl (Mosto, *ut supra*) attributes the name to João Serrão who was near that river on May 3, 1520, the day on which the church celebrates the feast of the finding of the holy cross. Navarrete (iv, p. 41) cites Herrera as authority for an eclipse of the sun that happened while at this river on October 11, 1520. Guillemard (*ut supra*, pp. 187, 188) is disinclined to believe the report, although he mentions an annular eclipse of the sun on October 20, 1520, which was however not visible in Patagonia. Navarrete (*ut supra*) says that Magalhães gave instructions to his captains here "saying that he would follow those coasts until finding a strait or the end of that continent, even if he had to go to a latitude of 75°; that before abandoning that enterprise, the ships might be twice unrigged; and that after that he would go in search of Maluco toward the east and east northeast, by way of the cape of Buena Esperanza and the island of San Lorenzo."

A new chapter begins at this point in MS. 5,650, being simply headed "chapter."

[128] The anonymous Portuguese who accompanied Duarte Barbosa says 53° 30′; Barros, 52° 56′; Elcano, 54°; and Albo, 52° 30′. Mosto, p. 60, note 9.

[129] MS. 5,650 has the words in brackets.

[130] Eden (p. 252) says of the strait: "they founde the /traight nowe cauled the /traight of Magellanus, beinge in /um place C.x. leagues in length: and in breadth /umwhere very large and in other places lyttle more than halfe a league in bredth." Stanley (p. 57) is uncertain of the French *et quasi autant de largeur moins de demye lieue*, which is (translated freely) simply "something like almost a half-league wide." The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 7) says that the channel "at some places has a width of three leagues, and two, and one, and in some places half a league." Transylvanus (VOL. I, p. 320) gives the width as two, three, five, or ten Italian miles; Gomara, two leagues or so; Barros, one league at the mouth, and the strait, from a musket or cannon shot to one and one and one-half leagues; Castanheda, at the mouth as wide as two ships close together, then opening up to one league; Peter Martyr, a sling-shot's distance in places. (Mosto, p. 61, note 2.)

[131] *Proise* or *Proi* (*proy, proic*) is an ancient Catalonian word meaning the "bow moorings;" Cf. Jal, *Glossaire nautìque* (Mosto, p. 61, note 3). The old Spanish word is "proís," which signifies both the thing to which the ship is moored ashore, and the rope by which it is moored to the shore.

[132] This passage is as follows in MS. 5,650: "The said strait was a circular place surrounded with mountains (as I have said), and the majority of the sailors thought that there was no exit from it into the said Pacific Sea. But the captain-general declared that there was another strait which led out, and that he knew that well, for he had seen it on a marine chart of the king of Portugal. That map had been made by a renowned sailor and pilot, named Martin de Boesme. The said captain sent two of his ships forward – one named the 'Sainct Anthoine,' and the other the 'Conception' – in order that they might look for and discover the exit from the said strait, which was called the cape de la Baya."

Martin de Behaim (Beham, Behem, Behemira, Behen, Bœhem, Bœhm) was born about 1459 (some say also in 1430 or 1436) of a family originally from Bohemia, in Nuremberg, Germany, and died at Lisbon, July 29, 1506. He was a draper in Flanders, 1477-1479, after which he went to Lisbon (1480) where he be-

came acquainted with Columbus. In 1484 he was chosen geographer of Diego Cam's expedition to Western Africa. On his return, he received the order of knighthood in the military order of Christ of Portugal; after which he went to the island of Fayal in the Azores where he became interested in colonization and agriculture, and married the daughter of the governor. In 1491 he returned to Germany, where he lived at Nuremberg until 1493, and where, at the request of his townsmen, he constructed an immense globe on the information of Ptolemy, Strabo, and others, which contains many errors (see facsimile in Guillemard). In 1493 he returned to Lisbon, and in 1494 to Fayal, where he remained until 1506, when he went to Lisbon. Many myths sprung up about him, such that he had visited America before Columbus and the straits of Magellan before Magalhães, the latter of whom he may have known at Lisbon. See Rose, *New Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1848); *Grande Encyclopédie* (Paris, Lamirault et Cie.); and Guillemard, pp. 73, 74.

See Guillemard (*ut supra*, pp. 189-198) for a discussion of knowledge regarding the existence of a strait to the south of the American continent, prior to Magalhães's discovery and passage of it. Guillemard, after weighing the evidence for and against, decides that there may have been a "more or less inexact knowledge of the existence of some antarctic break" that would allow access to the eastern world.

[133] Possession Bay, according to Mosto, p. 61, note 5, but Guillemard (pp. 199, 200) thinks it may have been Lomas Bay.

[134] Probably Anegada Point to the northwest of Cape Orange.

[135] The "First Narrows" or Primera Garganta, just beyond Anegada Point.

[136] Lago de los Estrechos, St. Philip's Bay, or Boucant Bay.

[137] The "Second Narrows" and Broad Reach.

[138] MS. 5,650 does not mention the smoke signals.

[139] MS. 5,650 reads: "When near us they suddenly discharged a number of guns, whereat we very joyously saluted them with artillery and cries."

[140] The first is the passage east of Dawson Island, which extends to the northeast into Useless Bay and to the southeast into Admiralty Sound. The second opening was the passage between the western side of Dawson Island and Brunswick Peninsula.

[141] Esteban Gomez was an experienced Portuguese navigator and pilot with ambitions only less than those of Magalhães, his kinsman (Guillemard, p. 203). His desertion occurred probably

in the first part of November, and was perhaps directly due to pique at what he considered lack of appreciation from Magalhães. Conspiring with Gerónimo Guerra, the notary, who was elected captain of the "San Antonio" they made off with that ship, and after imprisoning Alvaro de Mezquita, returned to Spain, anchoring at Sevilla May 6, 1521. There Gomez was imprisoned after the return of the "Victoria," but was liberated, and in 1524 proposed an expedition to discover a northwest passage. An expedition having been fitted out by Cárlos I, he coasted Florida and the eastern coast as far as Cape Cod, and returned to Spain in 1525. See *Grande Encyclopédie*; Navarrete, iv, pp. 42-45, and 201-208; and Guillemard, *ut supra*, pp. 203-205.

Brito's story of the exploration of the strait and the loss of the "San Antonio" (Navarrete, iv, pp. 307, 308) is as follows: "They left that place [*i.e.*, the river of Santa Cruz] on October 20, and went to enter a strait of which they had no knowledge. The entrance of the strait extends for about 15 leguas; and after they had entered, it seemed to them that it was all land-locked, and they accordingly anchored there. Magallanes sent a Portuguese pilot named Juan Carballo ashore with orders to ascend a mountain in order to ascertain whether there was any outlet. Carballo returned saying that it appeared land-locked to him. Thereupon Magallanes ordered the ships 'San Antonio' and the 'Concepcion' to go in advance in order to explore the strait. After having gone ahead for about 30 leguas, they returned to tell Magallanes that the river went farther but that they could not tell where it would take them. Upon receiving that information Magallanes weighed anchor with all three ships, and advanced along the strait until reaching the point to which the others had explored. Then he ordered the 'San Antonio' of which Alvaro de Mezquito, his cousin, was captain, and Esteban Gomez, a Portuguese pilot, to go ahead and explore a southern channel that opened in the strait. That ship did not return to the others and it is not known whether it returned to Castilla or whether it was wrecked. Magallanes proceeded with his remaining ships until he found an exit." Correa's account of the desertion of the "San Antonio" is as usual with him, inadequate, and evidently based on hearsay evidence (see Stanley, p. 250).

[142] Literally "brother;" but to be understood probably as the expression *cugino germano*, "cousin german."

[143] MS. 5,650 begins this sentence as follows: "But that ship lost its time, for the other."

[144] Guillemard (p. 206) conjectures from the records of Albo, Pigafetta, and Herrera that the river of Sardines is Port Gallant which is located on the Brunswick Peninsula, opposite the Charles Islands. Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 215) says that after taking the

course to the northwest they sailed about 15 leagues before anchoring.

[145] Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 216) says that the two capes at the exit of the strait were called Fermosa and Deseado, this latter being Cape Pillar (see Guillemard, map facing p. 198).

[146] MS. 5,650 adds: "which were on the other side."

[147] João Serrão, the brother of Magalhães's staunchest friend Francisco Serrão, and a firm supporter of the great navigator. Pigafetta errs in calling him a Spaniard (see p. 183), though he may have become a naturalized Spaniard, since the register speaks of him as a citizen of Sevilla. One document (Navarrete, iv, p. 155) calls him a Portuguese pilot, and Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 308) a Castilian. He was an experienced navigator and captain, and had served under Vasco da Gama, Almeida, and Albuquerque. Vasco da Gama (on his second voyage, 1502-1503) made him captain of the ship "Pomposa" which was built in Mozambique where he was left to attend to Portuguese affairs. On this expedition he saw the coast of Brazil for the first time, for Vasco da Gama's fleet, ere doubling the Cape of Good Hope, crossed to the Brazilian coast, which they followed as far as Cape Santo Agostinho. He fought bravely in the battle of Cananor under Almeida (March 16, 1506, in which Magalhães also participated). He was chief captain of three caravels in August, 1510, in Eastern water, and was in the Java seas in 1512, but must have returned to Portugal soon after that, for he was there in 1513; although he seems to have been appointed clerk at the fortress of Calicut in the latter year. He embarked with Magalhães as captain and pilot of the "Santiago," but after the wreck of that vessel near port San Julian was given command of the "Concepcion," in which he later explored the strait. Failing to dissuade Magalhães from attacking the natives of Matan, he became commander, with Duarte Barbosa, of the fleet at Magalhães's death, and was murdered by the Cebuans after the treacherous banquet given by them to the fleet. See Guillemard (*ut supra*), and Stanley's *Three voyages of Vasco da Gama* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1869).

[148] MS. 5,650 reads as follows: "Such was the method ordered by the captain from the beginning, in order that the ship that happened to become separated from the others might rejoin the fleet." Then it adds: "Thereupon the crew of the said ship did what the captain had ordered them and more, for they set two banners with their letters," etc.

[149] The island of Santa Magdalena (Mosto, p. 62, note 11).

[150] According to Guillemard the river of Isleo (or "of Is-

lands") is located on Brunswick Peninsula, and is identified with the port of San Miguel, just east of the "River of Sardines;" the island where the cross was planted would be one of the Charles Islands.

[151] The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 3) mentions that the day at the port of San Julian was about seven hours long; while the anonymous Portuguese (Stanley, p. 30) says that the sun only appeared for some "four hours each day" in June and July. Transylvanus says the nights in the strait were not longer than five hours.

[152] MS. 5,650 adds: "which is the collateral wind between the east and south."

[153] MS. 5,650 adds: "and anchorages."

[154] Various kinds of these umbelliferous parsley plants are still to be found in Patagonia, where they are highly esteemed (Mosto, p. 63, note 3).

[155] MS. 5,650 reads: "I do not believe that there is a more beautiful country or a better strait than that." See Albo's description of the strait, in VOL. I, pp. 264-265; that of Transylvanus, VOL. I, pp. 319-321; and that in *World encompassed* (Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 236, 237 (this last account also mentioning the difficulty of finding water sufficiently shallow for anchoring). The anonymous Portuguese (Stanley, p. 31) says that the strait was called the "Strait of Victoria, because the ship 'Victoria' was the first that had seen it: some called it the Strait of Magalhaens because our captain was named Fernando de Magalhaens." Castanheda says that Magalhães gave it the name of "bay of All Saints" because it was discovered on November 1; and San Martin in his reply to Magalhães's request for opinions regarding the continuance of the expedition calls it "channel of All Saints:" but this name was first applied to only one gulf or one branch and later extended to the entire channel. This name is found in the instructions given for the expedition of Sebastian Cabot in 1527, and in the map made that same year at Sevilla by the Englishman Robert Thorne. Sarmiento de Gamboa petitioned Felipe II that it be called "strait of the Mother of God." It was also called "strait of Martin Behaim." The anonymous Portuguese (Stanley, p. 31) says that the strait is 400 miles long. The "Roterio" (Stanley, pp. 7, 8) says that it is 100 leagues in length, and that in traversing it, they "sailed as long as it was daylight, and anchored when it was night." Transylvanus (VOL. I, p. 320) gives the length as 100 Spanish miles; Oviedo, 100 or 110 leagues; Herrera, 100 leagues, and twenty days to navigate; Gomara, 110 to 120 leagues; Peter Martyr, 110 leagues. See Mosto, p. 60, note 10, and p. 62, note 2; and *ante*, note 130.

[156] These fish are: a species of *Coryphæna*; the *Thymnus albacora*, and the *Thymnus plamys*.

[157] From the Spanish *golondrina*, the sapphirine gurnard or tubfish (*Trigla hirundo*).

[158] MS. 5,650 reads: "one foot or more."

[159] At this point in the original Italian MS., which ends a page, occurs the heading of the following page *Sequitur Vocabuli pataghoni*, that is, "Continuation of Patagonian words."

[160] Literally: "for the nature of women."

[161] MS. 5,650 presents the following differences in the list of Patagonian words from the Italian MS.

Eyes	ather
Eyelashes	occhechl
Lips	schiane
Hair	ajchir
Throat	ohumer
Shoulders	peles
Penis	scachet
Testicles	scaneos
Rump	schiachen
Arm	mar
Pulse	ohon
Legs	choss
Feet	teche
Heel	there
Sole of the foot	cartscheni
Fingernails	colini
To scratch	ghecare
Young man	calemi
Water	oli
Smoke	jaiche
We	chen
Yes	zei
Petre lazure	secheghi
Sun	calexcheni
To eat	mecchiere
To look	conne
To walk	rhei
Ship	theu
To run	haim
Ostrich eggs	jan
The powder of the herb which they eat	capae
Red cloth	terechai

Black	amel
Red	theiche
To cook	jrecoles
A goose	chache
Their little devils	Cheleult

In the above list, *chen* corresponds in the Italian MS. to *ehen*, the equivalent of "no;" *theu* is "ship" in the above, and "snow" in the Italian; *courire* (the equivalent of *covrire* or *coprire*, "to cover") in the Italian, becomes *courir* ("to run") in MS. 5,650. All are to be regarded as errors of the French. Certain words are left in Italian in MS. 5,650, which are as follows: *la copa*; *alcalcagno*; (Italian MS. *al calcagno*); *homo squerzo* (Italian MS. *sguerco*); *a la pignate* (Italian MS. *pigniata*); *alstruzzo vcelo* (Italian MS. *al seruzo ucelo*); and *alcocinare* (Italian MS. *al coçinare*). Stanley offers this as proof that MS. 5,650 was written by Pigafetta, and not translated from his Italian, but it furnishes no evidence that Pigafetta even saw the French version of his relation. It must be remembered that Stanley did not himself see the Italian MS. but only the Amoretti mutilation of it (from which, and from MS. 5,650, he reproduces the vocabulary, without English translation), and hence bases his observations on that and the conjectures of its editor. Stanley points out the fact that Amoretti has omitted several words of this list, but they are all in the Italian MS. A sad blunder has been made by Stanley in his transcription of *La pouldre dherbe qui mangent* whose Patagonian equivalent is *capac*. He transcribes as follows: *la pouldre d'herbe* with Patagonian equivalent *qui* (which it is to be noted is only the wrong form of the French relative), and *mangent* with Patagonian equivalent *capac*, explaining *mangent* in a footnote as "Food, the root used as bread." Stanley also makes the following mistranscriptions: *orescho* for *oresche* ("nostrils"); *canneghin* for *caimeghin* ("palm of the hand"); *ochy* for *ochii* ("bosom"); *scancos* for *scaneos* ("testicles"); *hou* for *hoii* ("buttocks"); *ohoy* for *ohon* ("pulse"); *cartschem* for *cartscheni* ("sole of the foot"); *choi* for *thol* ("heart"); *om* for *oni* ("wind"); *aschame* for *aschanie* ("earthen pot"); *oamaghei* for *oamaghce* ("to fight"); *amet* for *amel* ("black"); and *ixecoles* for *jrocoles* ("to cook"). Amoretti has also made many errors (see Stanley's *First Voyage*, pp. 62, 63). Mosto, who is on the whole a faithful transcriber, has *sacancos* as the Patagonian equivalent of *a li testiculi*; *om jani* for *a li sui*, the correct forms of the latter being *jani* and *a li sui oui*; and *tcrechai* for the equivalent of "red cloth." Eden (p. 252) gives only the following words: "breade, Capar: water, Oli: redde clothe, Cherecai: red colour, Cheiche: blacke colour, Amel."

Mosto (p. 63, note 8) gives the following words from the

vocabulary of the Tehuel-ches compiled by the second lieutenant of the ship "Roncagli," which correspond almost exactly with those given by Pigafetta.

English	*Roncagli*	*Pigafetta*
Nose	or	or
eye	óthel	other
hand	tzén	chene
ear	sha	sane
ostrich	óyue	hoi hoi

Brinton (*American Race*, p. 328) cites Ramon Lista (*Mis exploraciones y descubrimientos en Patagonia*, Buenos Ayres, 1880) in proof that the language of the Patagonians has undergone but slight change since the time of Pigafetta. See also lists of words in Brinton (*ut supra*), p. 364, from the Patagonian and Fuegian languages. The vocabularies given by Horatio Hale (Wilkes's *U. S. Exploring Expedition*, 1838-1842, Philadelphia, 1846, viii, pp. 651-656) bear no resemblance to Pigafetta's vocabulary. Hale says that guttural sounds are frequent among the Indians of the Patagonian district.

[162] MS. 5,650 reads: "capae."

[163] Cf. with the methods of fire-making used by the North American Indians in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland reissue); see also *Captivity of Hans Stade* (Hakluyt Society edition), p. 126.

At this point (folio 14a) in the original Italian MS. occurs the first chart, representing the straits of Magellan (see p. 86). The cardinal points in all of Pigafetta's charts are the reverse of the ordinary, the north being below and the south above. MS. 5,650 precedes this chart (which there occupies folio 21a) by the words: "Below is depicted the strait of Patagonie." Immediately following this chart in the Italian MS. (folio 15a) is the chart of the *Ysole Infortunate* ("Unfortunate Isles;" see p. 92). These islands are shown in MS. 5,650 on folio 23a, with the following notice: "Here are shown the two islands called 'Unfortunate Islands.'" The charts in the Italian MS. are brown or dull black on a blue ground.

[164] The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 9) says that Magalhães left the strait November 26 (having entered it October 21); the anonymous Portuguese (Stanley, p. 31) and Peter Martyr (Mosto, p. 65, note 1), November 27.

[165] MS. 5,650 reads: "And we ate only biscuits that had fallen to powder, which was quite full of worms, and stank from the filth of the urine of rats that covered it, and of which the good had been eaten." Eden (p. 252) reads: "And hauynge in

this tyme con/umed all theyr by/ket and other vyttales, they fell into /uche nece//itie that they were inforced to eate the pouder that remayned therof beinge nowe full of woormes and /tynkynge lyke py//e by rea/on of the /alte water." Herrera (Navarrete, iv, p. 51) says that the rice was cooked with salt water.

[166] A curious coincidence in view of Magalhães's answer to Esteban Gomez at a council called in the strait to discuss the continuance of the voyage that "although he had to eat the cowhide wrappings of the yardarms, he would still persevere and discover what he had promised the emperor" (Navarrete, iv, p. 43; cited from Herrera). At that council André de San Martin, pilot in the "San Antonio," advised that they continue explorations until the middle of January, 1521, and then return to Spain; and urged that no farther southward descent be made, and that navigation along so dangerous coasts be only by day, in order that the crew might have some rest (Navarrete, iv, pp. 45-49).

[167] MS. 5,650 reads: "enough of them."

[168] This was the scurvy. Navarrete (iv, p. 54) following a document conserved in Archivo general de Indias, says that only eleven men died of scurvy during the voyage from the strait to the Ladrones.

[169] The anonymous Portuguese says (Stanley, p. 31) that after sailing west and northwest for 9,858 miles, the equator was reached. At the line ("Roteiro," Stanley, p. 9), Magalhães changed the course in order to strike land north of the Moluccas, as "he had information that there were no provisions" there.

[170] MS. 5,650 reads: "It is well named Pacific."

[171] MS. 5,650 adds: "which is a large fish called tiburoni." The anonymous Portuguese (Stanley, p. 31), says that the Unfortunate Islands were met before the line was reached and were eight hundred miles distant from one another. One was called St. Peter (in 18°) and the other the island of Tiburones (in 14°). Transylvanus (VOL. I, p. 321), Herrera, and Oviedo, say that the three vessels stopped two days at those islands for supplies, but Albo's journal (Navarrete, iv, p. 218) indicates that no stop was made there. The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 9), gives the latitude of these islands as 18° or 19° and 13° or 14°. Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 218) says that the first was discovered January 24 in 16° 15′, and was called San Pablo, because that was the date of St. Paul's conversion; and the island of Tiburones was discovered February 4, in 10° 40′, at a distance of 9° (*sic*) from the former. Eden (p. 253) says that the second island lay in 5°. These two islands were probably Puka-puka (the Honden Eyland of the Dutch atlases) of the Tuamotu group, located in latitude

14° 45′ south, and longitude 138° 48′ west; and Flint Island of the Manihiki group, located in latitude 11° 20′ south and longitude 151° 48′ west. The latter is still uninhabited, but the former contains a population of over four hundred. See *ante*, note 163. See Guillemard, p. 220, and Mosto, p. 65, note 6.

[172] MS. 5,650 reads: "now at the stern, now at the windward side, or otherwise." Amoretti changes this passage completely, reading: "According to our measurement of the distance that we made with the chain astern, we ran from sixty to seventy leagues daily." Many basing themselves on this passage of Amoretti, have believed that the log was in use at the time of the first circumnavigation. Dr. Breusing (*Die Catena a poppa bei Pigafetta und die Logge*, in "Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin," 1869, iv, pp. 107-115) believes that the "stern chain (*catena poppa*) is not the log properly so-called, but an instrument for determining the angle of the ship's leeway, an opinion accepted also by Gelcich in his *La scoperta d'America e Cristoforo Colombo nella letteratura moderna* (Gorizia, 1890). L'Vzielle (*Studi bibliogr. e biogr. sulla storia della geogr. in Italia*, Roma, 1875, part ii, introduction, pp. 294-296), combats that opinion, as well as the idea that the log is meant. The difficulty of the passage, he says, hinges on the word *ho* and whether it is interpreted as a verb or a conjunction. If it be a conjunction then the passage means "estimating by sight, the rate of the ship from the 'bow catena,' or 'at the stern' ('catena' being a beam perpendicular to the ship's axis at the point near the bow where it begins to curve inward; that is, at such a point that from that place to the stern, the direction of the apparent way is parallel to the longitudinal axis of the ship) his ship made fifty, sixty, or seventy leagues." One might suppose, if *ho* be regarded as a verb, that Pigafetta called *catena* a cross beam of the stern (the passage reading "the catena that was at the stern"); or that the disjunctive *ho*, "or" is used in place of *e*, "and," and that Pigafetta, dividing the distance between the stern and the bow catena by the time necessary for a fixed point of the sea to pass from the elevation of the bow to that of the stern, thus deduced the ship's rate. See Mosto, p. 66, note, 1. L'Vzielli's opinion is the most probable, for although the log is mentioned by Purchas as early as 1607, its use did not become general until 1620. An instrument used to measure the rates of vessels is mentioned as early as 1577, but it was very deficient.

[173] The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 6) says that this cape, which he calls "cape of the virgins" was discovered on October 21, 1520, and lay in latitude about 52° south. Barros says that it was discovered on October 20; and Transylvanus and Oviedo, on November 27. See Mosto, p. 61, note 1.

[174] Regarding the reckonings Eden says: "In ſo much that it was nece//arie to helpe the needle with the lode ſtone (commonly cauled the adamant) before they could ſaile therwith, bycau/e it moued not as it doothe when it is in the/e owre partes." Eden also gives a cut of the "ſtarres abowt the pole Antartike." The same author also (pp. 277-280) compiles from Amerigo Vespucci and Andreas de Corsali a treatise entitled "Of the Pole Antartike and the stars abowt the same and of the qualitie of the regions and disposition of the Elementes abowt the Equinoctiall line. Alſo certeyne ſecreates touching the arte of ſaylynge." The former says: "The pole Antartike hath nother the great beare nor the lyttle as is ſeene abowte owre pole. But hath foure ſtarres whiche compa//e it abowt in forme of a quadrangle. When these are hydden, there is ſeene on the lefte ſyde a bryght Canopus of three ſtarres of notable greatne//e, whiche beinge in the mydde/t of heauen, repre/enteth this figure." The latter says: "Here we ſawe a marueylous order of ſtarres, ſo that in the parte of heauen contrary to owre northe pole, to knowe in what place and degree the ſouth pole was, we tooke the day with the ſoonne, and ob/erued the nyght with the a/trolabie, and ſaw manife/tly twoo clowdes of rea/onable bygne//e mouynge abowt the place of the pole continually nowe ry/ynge and nowe faulynge, ſo keepynge theyr continuall cour/e in circular mouynge, with a ſtarre euer in the mydde/t which is turned abowt with them abowte. xi. degrees frome the pole. Aboue the/e appeareth a marueylous cro//e in the mydde/t of fyue notable ſtarres which compa//e it abowt. . . . This cro//e is so fayre and bewtiful, that none other heuenly gne may be compared to it. . . . " These are the Magallanic clouds (Nuebecula major and Nubecula minor) and the constellation of the Southern Cross or Crux. The Magellanic clouds resemble portions of the milky way, Nubecula major being visible to the naked eye in strong moonlight and covering about two hundred times the moon's surface, while the Nubecula minor, although visible to the naked eye, disappears in full moonlight, and covers an area only one-fourth that of the former. They were first observed by the Arabians. The Portuguese pilots probably called them at first "clouds of the cape." (Mosto, p. 66, note 2). The Southern Cross, which resembles a lute rather than a cross, was first erected into a constellation by Royer in 1679, although often spoken of before as a cross. Only one of its five principal stars belongs to the first magnitude. The cross is only 6° in extent north and south and less than that east and west.

The second chart of the plate at p. 92 represents the Ladrones Islands and occurs in the Italian MS. at this point (folio 16b). This chart is found on folio 25b in MS. 5,650, and is preceded by the inscription: "The island of the robbers and the style of their boats."

[175] MS. 5,650 reads: "During that time of two months and twelve days."

[176] Amoretti reads: "three degrees east of Capo Verde." If the cape is meant, the correction is proper, but if the islands, the MS. is correct. See Mosto, p. 67, note 4.

[177] Cipangu is Japan, while Sumbdit Pradit may be the island of Antilia, called "Septe citade" on Martin Behaim's globe (Mosto, p. 67, note 5). The locations given by Pigafetta prove that they did not see them, but that he writes only from vague reports. Europe first learned of Japan, near the end of the thirteenth century, through Marco Polo, who had been told in China fabulous tales of the wealth of Zipangu. This word is derived by Marco Polo from the Chinese Dschi-pen-Kuë or Dschi-pon, which the Japanese have transformed into Nippon or Nihon. See *Travels of Marco Polo*, book iii, ch. ii; and Rein's *Japan*, p. 4.

[178] See VOL. I, pp. 208, 209, 210, 312, 336.

[179] MS. 5,650 reads: "sixty." Transylvanus (VOL. I, p. 322) names two islands of the Ladrones Inuagana and Acacan, but says that both were uninhabited. Guillemard (*ut supra*, p. 223) conjectures these names to be identical with Agana in Guam and Sosan in Rota. Hugues (Mosto, p. 67, note 7) believes the first island visited to have been Guam, and his conjecture is undoubtedly correct.

[180] MS. 5,650 adds: "called skiff."

[181] MS. 5,650 adds: "of the said island."

[182] MS. 5,650 has a new unnumbered chapter heading before the following paragraph.

[183] This phrase is omitted in MS. 5,650, as is also all the following sentence; but that MS. adds: "We left the said island immediately afterward, and continued our course." This was on March 9, on which day the only Englishman in the fleet, "Master Andrew" of Bristol, died (Guillemard, *ut supra*, p. 226).

[184] Eden (p. 254) says: "two hundreth of theyr boates."

[185] MS. 5,650 has a new chapter at this point, although the chapter is unnumbered.

When Loaisa's expedition reached the Ladrones, they found still alive a Galician, one of three deserters from Espinosa's ship (see VOL. II, pp. 30, 34, 35, 110). See the reception accorded Legazpi, and a description of one of those islands in 1565, VOL. II, pp. 109-113. The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 9) says that the expedition reached the Ladrones, March 6, 1521 (with which Albo, Navarrete, iv, p. 219 agrees); and that after the theft of the

skiff, Magellan landed with fifty or sixty men, burned the whole village, killed seven or eight persons, both men and women; and that supplies were taken aboard. The anonymous Portuguese (Stanley, p. 31) says that the Ladrones (which lay in 10°-12° north latitude, were 2,046 miles by the course traveled from the equator. Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 308) says: "Thence [*i.e.*, the Unfortunate Islands] they laid their course westward, and after sailing 500 leguas came to certain islands where they found a considerable number of savages. So many of the latter boarded the vessels that when the men tried to restore order in them, they were unable to get rid of the savages except by lance-thrusts. They killed many savages, who laughed as if it were a cause for rejoicing."

[186] MS. 5,650 adds: "or superior."

[187] MS. 5,650 reads: "cloth."

[188] At this point, MS. 5,650 begins a new sentence, thus: "There are found in that place."

[189] MS. 5,650 reads: "Those women."

[190] MS. 5,650 makes use of the Italian word *store* for *stuoje* or *stoje* meaning "mats," and explains by adding: "which we call mats."

[191] They also (according to Herrera) received the name *Las Velas*, "the sails" from the lateen-rigged vessels that the natives used (Mosto, p. 67, note 7). See also VOL. XVI, pp. 200-202.

[192] In MS. 5,650 this sentence reads as follows: "The pastime of the men and women of the said place and their sport, is to go in their boats to catch those flying fish with fishhooks made of fishbone."

[193] Mosto (p. 68, note 5) says that these boats were the *fisolere*, which were small and very swift oared-vessels, used in winter on the Venetian lakes by the Venetian nobles for hunting with bows and arrows and guns. Amoretti conjectures that Pigafetta means the *fusiniere*, boats named after Fusine whence people are ferried to Venice.

[194] MS. 5,650 reads: "The said boats have no difference between stern and bow." Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 219), in speaking of the boats of the Chamorros, uses almost identically the same expression: "They went both ways, for they could make the stern, bow, and the bow, stern, whenever they wished." The apparatus described by Pigafetta as belonging to these boats is the outrigger, common to many of the boats of the eastern islands.

[195] In the Italian MS., the chart of *Aguada ly boni segnaly* ("Watering-place of good signs"), Zzamal (Samar), Abarien,

Humunu, Hyunagan, Zuluam, Cenalo, and Ybusson (*q.v.*, p. 102) follows at this point. It is found on folio 29b of MS. 5,650 and is preceded by the following: "Here is shown the island of Good Signs, and the four islands, Cenalo, Humanghar, Ibusson, and Abarien, and several others."

[196] "The tenth of March" in Eden, and the distance of Zamal from the Ladrones is given as "xxx. leagues." Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 220) says that the first land seen was called Yunagan, "which extended north and had many bays;" and that going south from there they anchored at a small island called Suluan. At the former "we saw some canoes, and went thither, but they fled. That island lies in 9° 40′ north latitude." The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 10) says that the first land seen was in "barely eleven degrees," and that the fleet "went to touch at another further on, which appeared first." Two praus approached a boat sent ashore, whereupon the latter was ordered back, and the praus fled. Thereupon the fleet went to another nearby island "which lies in ten degrees, to which they gave the name of the 'Island of Good Signs,' because they found some gold in it."

[197] This word is omitted in MS. 5,650.

[198] MS. 5,650 reads: "more than one foot long."

[199] Since rice is an important staple among all the eastern islands, it is natural that there are different and distinctive names for that grain in the various languages and dialects for all stages of its growth and all its modes of preparation. Thus the Tagálog has words for "green rice," "rice with small heads," "dirty and partly rotten rice," "early rice," "late rice," "cooked rice," and many others. See also *U. S. Philippine Gazetteer*, pp. 70, 71.

[200] MS. 5,650 reads: "In order to explain what manner of fruit is that above named, one must know that what is called 'cochi' is the fruit borne by the palm-tree. Just as we have bread, wine, oil, and vinegar, which are obtained from different things, so those people get the above named substances from those palm-trees alone." See Delgado's *Historia*, pp. 634-659, for description of the useful cocoa palm; also, *U. S. Philippine Gazetteer*, pp. 72, 73, 75.

[201] MS. 5,650 reads: "along the tree." Practically the method used today to gather the cocoanut wine. See *U. S. Philippine Gazetteer*, p. 75.

[202] In describing the cocoanut palm and fruit, Eden (p. 254) reads: "Vnder this rynde, there is a thicke /hell whiche they burne and make pouder thereof and v/e it as a remedie for certeyne di/ea/es." He says lower, that the cocoanut milk on congealing "lyeth within the /hell lyke an egge."

[203] MS. 5,650 reads: "By so doing they last a century."

[204] Called "Suluan" by Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 220). It is a small island southeast of Samar. See *ante*, note 196. Dr. David P. Barrows (*Census of the Philippines*, Washington, 1905, i, p. 413), says that the men from Suluan "were perhaps not typical of the rest of the population which Magellan found sparsely scattered about the coasts of the central islands, but . . . were almost certainly of the same stock from which the present Visayan people are in the main descended." These natives had probably come, he says, "in successively extending settlements, up the west coast of Mindanao from the Sulu archipelago. 'Sulúan' itself means 'Where there are Suluges,' that is, men of Sulu or Joló."

[205] MS. adds: "seeing that they were thus well dispositioned."

[206] MS. 5,650 adds: "into the sea."

[207] Albo calls it (Navarrete, iv, p. 220) the island of Gada (*i.e., Aguada*, "watering-place") "where we took on water and wood, that island being very free of shoals" (see *ante*, note 196). This island is now called Homonhón, Jomonjol, or Malhón. Its greatest dimensions are ten miles from northwest to southeast, and five miles from northeast to southwest. It is eleven miles southwest from the nearest point in Samar. It is called "Buenas Señas" on Murillo Velarde's map.

[208] The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 11) says that the archipelago was also called "Vall Sem Periguo," or "Valley without Peril." The name "Filipinas" was not applied to them until 1542 by Villalobos (see VOL. II, p. 48).

[209] Probably the jungle-fowl (*Gallus bankiva*) which is caught and tamed in large numbers by the natives of the Philippines and still used for crossing with the domestic fowl. See Guillemard (*ut supra*, p. 228, note 1).

[210] This sentence is omitted in MS. 5,650.

[211] MS. 5,650 reads: "In his ears he wore pendants of gold jewels, which they call 'schione.'"

[212] MS. adds: "whom he had put ashore on that island that they might recruit their strength."

[213] MS. 5,650 reads: "There is another island near the above island, inhabited by people." Mosto says (p. 70, note 6) that *picheti* is from the Spanish *piquete*, "a small hole made with a sharp pointed instrument." This custom of piercing the ears is quite general among savage, barbarous, and semi-barbarous peoples.

[214] Eden (p. 254) reads: "*caphranita* that is gentyles." See VOL. III, p. 93, note 29.

[215] This word is omitted in MS. 5,650.

[216] Our transcript reads *facine*, and MS. 5,650 *fascine*, both of which translate "fascines." Mosto reads *focine*, which is amended by Amoretti to *foscine*. This latter is probably the same word as *fiocina*, a "harpoon" or "eel-spear," and hence here a "dart."

[217] Stanley failed to decipher this word in MS. 5,650, which is the same as the word in the Italian MS. Mosto, citing Boerio (*Dizion. veneziano*), says of *rizali*: "*Rizzagio* or *rizzagno*, 'sweepnet' a fine thickly woven net, which when thrown into rivers by the fisherman, opens, and when near the bottom, closes, and covers and encloses the fish. *Rizzagio* is also called that contrivance or net, made in the manner of an inverted cone, with a barrel hoop attached to the circumference as a selvage. It has a hole underneath, through which if the eels in the ponds slyly enter the net, there is no danger of their escape."

Fish are caught in the Philippines by various devices – in favorable situations by traps, weirs, corrals of bamboo set along the shore in shallow waters. Various kinds of nets and seines, the hook and line, and also the spear, are also used. See *Census of the Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1905), iv, p. 533.

[218] MS. 5,650 reads: "Hiunanghar." Stanley has mistranscribed "Huinanghar." It is difficult to identify the four islands of Cenalo, Hiunanghan, Ibusson, and Abarien with certainty. Mosto (p. 71, notes) suggests that they may be Dinagat, Cabugan, Gibuson, and Cabalarián. The first three are evidently correct, as those islands would naturally be sighted in the course followed. The last island is shown in Pigafetta's chart to be north of Malhón, and the probability is that he names and locates it merely from hearsay, and that they did not see it. Its position seems to indicate Manicani rather than Cabalarián.

After this paragraph in the Italian MS. (folio 21a) follows the chart of the islands of Pozzon, Ticobon, Polon, Baibai and Ceilon (together forming the island of Leyte), Gatighan, Bohol, and Mazzana (*sic*) (*q.v.*, p. 112). This chart in MS. 5,650 (on folio 36a) is preceded by: "Below is shown the cape of Gatighan and many other islands surrounding it."

[219] Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 220) says: "We departed thence [*i.e.*, from Malhón] and went toward the west in order to strike a large island called Seilani [*i.e.*, Leyte] which is inhabited and has gold in it. We coasted along it and took our course to the west southwest in order to strike a small island, which is inhabited and called Mazava. The people there are very friendly.

We erected a cross on a mountain in that island. Three islands lying to the west southwest were pointed out to us from that island, which are said to possess gold in abundance. They showed us how it was obtained. They found pieces as large as chick-peas and beans. Masava lies in latitude 9 and two-thirds degrees north." The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 11) says: "They ran on to another island twenty leagues from that from which they sailed [*i.e.*, Malhón], and came to anchor at another island, which is named Macangor [*i.e.*, Masaua], which is nine degrees; and in this island they were very well received, and they placed a cross in it." See also VOL. I, pp. 322, 323.

[220] MS. 5,650 reads: "But they moved off immediately and would not enter the ship through distrust of us." The slave who acted as interpreter is the Henrique de Malaca of Navarrete's list.

[221] *Bara*: the Spanish word *barra.*

[222] MS. 5,650 reads: "to ask him to give him some food for his ships in exchange for his money."

[223] MS. 5,650 reads: "The king hearing that came with seven or eight men."

[224] For *dorade, i.e.*, the dorado. MS. 5,650 adds: "which are very large fish of the kind abovesaid."

[225] The ceremony of blood brotherhood. *Casicasi* means "intimate friends." See Trumbull's *Blood Covenant* (Philadelphia, 1898), which shows how widespread was the covenant or friendship typified by blood.

[226] MS. 5,650 reads: "After that the said captain had one of his men-at-arms armed in offensive armor." Stanley has translated *harnois blanc* literally as "white armor."

[227] This passage may be translated: "Thereby was the king rendered almost speechless, and told the captain, through the slave, that one of those armed men was worth a hundred of his own men. The captain answered that that was a fact, and that he had brought two hundred men in each ship, who were armed in that manner." Eden so understood it, and reads: "whereat the Kynge marualed greatly, and ſayde to th[e] interpretoure (who was a ſlaue borne in Malacha) that one of thoſe armed men was able to encounter with a hundreth of his men." MS. 5,650 agrees with the translation of the text.

[228] Instead of this last phrase MS. 5,650 has: "and he made two of his men engage in sword-play before the king."

[229] MS. 5,650 says only: "Then he showed the king the sea-chart, and the navigation compass." Eden says (p. 348) that the first to use the compass was one "Flauius of Malpha, a citie in

the kingdom of Naples. . . . Next vnto Flauius, the chiefe commendation is dew to the Spanyardes and Portugales by who/e daylye experience, the /ame is brought to further perfection, and the v/e thereof better knowen; althowghe hytherto no man knoweth the cau/e why the iren touched with the lode /tone, turneth euer towarde the north /tarre, as playnely appeareth in euery common dyall." He also says: "As touchynge the needle of the compa//e, I haue redde in the Portugales nauigations that /aylynge as farre /outh as Cap. de Bona Speranza, the poynt of the needle /tyll re/pected the northe as it dyd on this /yde the Equinoctiall, /auynge that it /umwhat trembeled and declyned a lyttle, whereby the force /eemed /umwhat to be dimini//hed, /o that they were fayne to helpe it with the lode /tone." (See *ante*, p. 93). The compass was known in a rough form to the Chinese as early as 2634 B.C., and first applied to navigation in the third or fourth century A.D., or perhaps earlier. It was probably introduced into Europe through the Arabs who learned of it from the Chinese. It is first referred to in European literature by Alexander Neckam in the twelfth century in *De Utensilibus*. The variations from the true north were observed as early as 1269.

[230] Stanley says that the Amoretti edition represents the king as making this request and Magalhães as assenting thereto; but the Italian MS. reads as distinctly as MS. 5,650, that Magalhães made the request.

[231] MS. 5,650 omits the remainder of this sentence.

[232] MS. 5,650 adds: "that is, a boat."

[233] The following passage relating to the meal reads thus in MS. 5,650: "Then the king had a plate of pork and some wine brought in. Their fashion of drinking is as follows. First they lift their hands toward the sky, and then take with the right hand the vessel from which they drink, while extending the fist of the left hand toward the people. The king did that to me, and extended his fist toward me, so that I thought that he was going to strike me. But I did the same to him, and in such wise did we banquet and afterwards sup with him using that ceremony and others." See Spencer's *Ceremonial Institutions*, especially chapter I.

[234] Eden reads (p. 255): "When the kynge /awe Antonie Pigafetta write the names of many thinges, and afterwarde re-hear/e them ageyne, he marualed yet more, makynge /ygnes that /uche men de/cended from heauen." Continuing he confuses the eldest son of the first king with the latter's brother, the second king.

[235] A tolerably good description of the native houses of the

present day in the Philippines. Cf. Morga's description, VOL. XVI, pp. 117-119.

[236] MS. 5,650 begins a new unnumbered chapter at this point.

[237] This sentence to this point in MS. 5,650, is wrongly made to refer to the house of the king. The passage there reads: "All the dishes with which he is served, and also a part of his house, which was well furnished according to the custom of the country, were of gold."

[238] MS. 5,650 omits this sentence.

[239] Butuan and Caraga in the northeastern part of Mindanao.

[240] This name is variously rendered: Mosto, *Siain*; MS. 5,650, *Siaui*; Stanley, *Siani*; and Amoretti and Eden, *Siagu*.

[241] MS. 5,650 reads: "the captain sent the chaplain ashore to celebrate mass."

[242] MS. 5,650 says that they took only their swords; but the Italian MS. says distinctly that a signal was given to the ships from the shore by means of muskets, and again that the musketry was fired when the kings and Magalhães separated, both of which references are omitted by MS. 5,650. Eden reads: "The Captaine came alande with fyftie of his men in theyr be/t apparel withowte weapons or harne//e, and all the re/ydue well armed."

[243] In Eden (p. 255): "dama/ke water."

[244] MS. 5,650 reads: "but they offered nothing."

[245] MS. 5,650 says: "every one did his duties as a Christian and received our Lord."

[246] MS. 5,650 adds: "for the people."

[247] The Italian MS. reads literally and somewhat ambiguously: "they made immediate reverence;" MS. 5,650 says "to which these kings made reverence," which is scarcely likely, as the latter would, until told by Magalhães, see nothing in the ceremony. Rather it was the Spaniards who made the reverence.

[248] MS. 5,650 reads: "whenever any ships came from Spain."

[249] Cf. Morga, VOL. XVI, p. 132.

[250] MS. 5,650 reads: "men and ships to render them obedient to him."

[251] MS. 5,650 reads: "to the middle of the highest mountain," evidently confusing *mezo di* ("afternoon") of the Italian MS. with *mezo* (*mezzo*; "middle"); for the cross was set up on the summit of the mountain. The passage in MS. 5,650 continues: "Then those two kings and the captain rested, and while conversing, the latter had them asked [*not* "I had them asked"

as in Stanley, who mistranscribes *jl* (*il*) as *je*] where the best port was for getting food. They replied that there were three, namely, Ceylom, Zzubu, and Galaghan, but that Zzeubu was the largest and the best trading place." These are the islands of Leyte (the Seilani of Albo, Navarrete, iv, p. 20; and the Selani of Transylvanus, VOL. I, p. 322), Cebú, and Mindanao (the Caraga district).

[252] MS. 5,650 reads simply: "Then we descended to the place where their boats were."

[253] This account is very much shortened in MS. 5,650, where it reads as follows: "As the captain intended to leave next morning, he asked the king for pilots in order that they might conduct him to the ports abovesaid. He promised the king to treat those pilots as he would them themselves, and that he would leave one of his men as a hostage. In reply the first king said that he would go himself to guide the captain to those ports and that he would be his pilot, but asked him to wait two days until he should gather his rice, and do some other things which he had to do. He asked the captain to lend him some of his men, so that he could accomplish it sooner, and the captain agreed to it." At this point MS. 5,650 begins a new unnumbered chapter.

[254] The billon and afterward copper coin *quattrino*, which was struck in the mints of Venice, Rome, Florence, Reggio, the Two Sicilies, etc. The quattrino of the popes was often distinguished as "quattrino Romano." The Venetian copper quattrino was first struck in the reign of Francesco Foscari (1423-57). See W. C. Hazlitt's *Coinage of European Continent* (London and New York, 1893), p. 226.

[255] *Doppione*: a gold coin struck by Louis XII of France during his occupation of the Milanese (1500-1512). Hazlitt, *ut supra*, p. 196.

[256] *Colona*: possibly the name of some coin of the period.

[257] This entire paragraph is omitted in MS. 5,650. That MS. has another chapter division at this point.

[258] Stanley mistranslates the French *gentilz* as "gentle."

[259] Probably the abacá, although it may be the cloth made from the palm. See Morga's description of the Visayans, VOL. XVI, p. 112.

[260] Cf. Morga's *Sucesos*, VOL. XVI, pp. 80, 81.

[261] MS. 5,650 greatly abridges this account, reading as follows: "They cut that fruit into four parts, and after they have chewed it a long time, they spit it out and throw it away." Cf. the account in Morga's *Sucesos*, VOL. XVI, pp. 97-99.

[262] MS. 5,650 omits this product. Cf. Morga's *Sucesos*, VOL. XVI, pp. 84-97.

[263] In MS. 5,650, "Mazzaua;" in Eden, "Me*ff*ana;" in Mosto, "Mazana," while in the chart it appears as "Mazzana;" Transylvanus, "Massana;" and Albo, "Masava." It is now called the island of Limasaua, and has an area of about ten and one-half square miles.

[264] Mosto mistranscribes the Italian word for "among" *fra* as *prima* "first." The error arises through the abbreviation used, namely f^a, Mosto mistaking it for p^a, which would be *prima*.

[265] Stanley mistranscribes "Gatighan" from MS. 5,650 as "Satighan." The names of the five islands as given by Eden are: "Zeilon, Bohol, Canghu, Barbai, and Catighan." These are the islands of Leite, Bohol, Canigao (west of Leyte), the northern part of Leyte (today the name of a town, hamlet and inlet in Leyte), and possibly Apit or Himuquitan, or one of the other nearby islands on the west coast of Leyte. See chart of these islands on p. 112.

Albo (Navarrete, iv, pp. 220, 221) says: "We left Mazava and went north toward the island of Seilani, after which we ran along the said island to the northwest as far as 10 degrees. There we saw three rocky islands, and turned our course west for about 10 leguas where we came upon two islets. We stayed there that night and in the morning went toward the south southwest for about 12 leguas, as far as 10 and one-third degrees. At that point we entered a channel between two islands, one of which is called Matan and the other Subu. Subu, as well as the islands of Mazava and Suluan extend north by east and south by west. Between Subu and Seilani we spied a very lofty land lying to the north, which is called Baibai. It is said to contain considerable gold and to be well stocked with food, and so great an extent of land that its limits are unknown. From Mazava, Seilani, and Subu, on the course followed toward the south, look out for the many shoals, which are very bad. On that account a canoe which was guiding us along that course, refused to go ahead. From the beginning of the channel of Subu and Matan, we turned west by a middle channel and reached the city of Subu. There we anchored and made peace, and the people there gave us rice, millet, and meat. We stayed there for a considerable time. The king and queen of that place and many of the inhabitants readily became Christians." The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 11) says that the king of Macangar (*i.e.*, Mazaua) conducted the Spaniards "a matter of thirty leagues to another island named Cabo [*i.e.*, Cebú], which is in ten degrees, and in this island Fernando de Magalhães did what he pleased with the consent of

the country." Brito says merely (Navarrete, iv, p. 308): "After that, after passing amid many islands, they reached one called Mazaba, which lies in 9 degrees. The king of Mazaba conducted them to another large island called Zubó."

[266] MS. 5,650 reads: "only one of them." *Barbastili* is a Venetian word for *pipistrelli*. These bats are the Pteropi or "flying foxes," the large fruit-eating bats of which so many species inhabit the Malay Archipelago. Bats are especially found in Guimarás, Siquijor, and Cebú, and the skins of some are used as fur. See Guillemard (*ut supra*, p. 235). See also Delgado's *Historia*, pp. 842, 843; and *U. S. Philippine Gazetteer*.

[267] Stanley mistranslates as "tortoises." The "black birds with the long tail" are the tabón "mound-building *Megapodes*, gallinacious birds peculiar to the Austro-Malayan subregion" (Guillemard's *Magellan*, p. 235). See also VOL. V, p. 167, note 14, and VOL. XVI, page 198, note 43; also VOL. XVI, p. 81, note 84.

[268] These are the Camotes, which lie west of Leyte, and their names are Poro, Pasijan, and Pansón. See Pigafetta's chart showing these islands on p. 112.

[269] Following this point in the Italian MS. (folio 26a) is the chart of the islands of Bohol, Mattam, and Zzubu (*q.v.*, p. 136). MS. 5,650 presents this chart on folio 51a, preceded by the words: "Below are shown the islands of Zzubu, Mattan, and Bohól."

[270] MS. 5,650 reads: "But the interpreter reassured them by telling them."

[271] MS. 5,650 reads: "and he was going, by the orders of the said sovereign, to discover the islands of Mallucque."

[272] MS. 5,650 reads: "Thereupon the abovesaid merchant said to the king in their language," etc., without giving the original Malay words. Eden gives the phrase as *catacaia chita*.

[273] Calicut, properly Kálikot (said to be derived from two words meaning cock-crow, because the territory granted to the first king of Kálikot was limited to the extent over which a cock could be heard to crow; or from Káli, one of the names of the goddess Gauri) is the name of a district and city on the Malabar coast. The king of all the Malabar coast from Goa to Cape Comorin, Samari Perymal, having adopted the Mahometan faith divided his kingdom into the kingdoms of Calicut, Cochin, Cananor, and Coulão, and gave them to his friends, on condition that the king of Calicut be termed "Zamorim" or "Samorim," *i.e.*, "Supreme emperor and God upon earth" (although the proper form is said to be "Tamurin" which is conjectured by some to be a modification of the Sanskrit "Samunri," "seaking."

The city of Kálíkot, a noted emporium of trade, was built perhaps as early as 805 A.D., although the date 1300 A.D. is also given as that of its founding; and is described by Ibn Batuta in 1342 as one of the finest ports in the world. It was visited by Covilham in 1486, and Vasco da Gama's ships were freighted there in 1498. The latter attacked the city in 1503 and 1510, and the Portuguese built a fortified factory there in 1513 which was destroyed by the governor in 1525 to avoid its falling into the enemy's hands. The English established a factory in the city in 1616, which was captured in 1766 by Haidar Ali; but after a further series of capture and recapture, the city and district was permanently turned over to the British (1792). See Stanley's *Vasco da Gama* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1869); Birch's *Alboquerque* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1875-1884); Jones and Badger's *Ludovico di Varthema* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1863), pp. 135-177; also Grey's *Travels of Pietro della Valle* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1892), pp. 344, 345, note.

Malacca, or more correctly Mâlaka is the name of an ancient territory and city, which was probably first settled by Javanese, and is possibly derived from "Malayu" meaning in Javanese "to run" or "fugitive." At an early period Malacca fell under the sway of the Siamese. The city, located on both sides of the Malacca River, and only one hundred and thirty miles northwest of Singapore (which has usurped the great volume of trade once centering at Malacca) was founded about 1250 A.D. The first European to visit the city was Varthema, about the year 1505. It was captured by the Portuguese under Albuquerque in 1511, and they held it (1580-1640 under Spanish control) until 1641 when it was captured by the Dutch, who had unsuccessfully besieged it, with the aid of the king of Jahor, in 1606. The English obtained possession of it in 1795, and still hold it, although the Dutch possessed it from 1818-1825. For descriptions and history of Malacca, see the following Hakluyt Society publications: Stanley's *East Africa and Malabar* (London, 1866), pp. 190-195; Birch's *Alboquerque*, iii, pp. 71-90 (and other citations); Burnell and Tiele's *Linschoten* (London, 1885), i, pp. 104-106; Gray's *Voyage of François Pyrard* (London, 1888), part i, p. ii. Also see Crawfurd's *Dictionary*, pp. 238-249.

The terms India Major (Greater India) and India Minor (Lesser India) are differently applied by different authors. Schiltbergen applied the term Lesser India to the northern portion of the peninsula on this side of the Ganges, while the southern portion of the peninsula was termed Greater India. Marco Polo's Lesser India extended from Makran to and including the Coromandel coast, and his Greater India extended from the Coromandel coast to Cochin China, while Middle India was Abyssinia.

Mosto wrongly identifies India Major with the present Indian empire. See Telfer's *Johann Schiltberger* (Hakluyt Society publications, 1879). Friar Jordanus (*Wonders of the East*, Hakluyt Society edition, London, 1863), describes (pp. 11-45) India the Less, India the Greater, and India Tertia. Yule points out that Jordanus's Lesser India embraces Sindh, and probably Mekran, and India along the coast as far as some point immediately north of Malabar. Greater India extends from Malabar very indefinitely to the eastward, for he makes it include Champa. India Tertia is the east of Africa below Abyssinia. Thus Jordanus just reverses the Lesser and Greater Indias of Marco Polo. Ramusio who gives the *Summary of Kingdoms* of an old Portuguese geographer, ends First India at Mangalore, and Second India at the Ganges. Benjamin of Tudela speaks of "Middle India which is called Aden." Conti divides India into three parts: the first extending from Persia to the Indus, the second from the Indus to the Ganges, and the third all the land beyond. Pliny discusses whether Mekran and other lands belonged to India or Ariana.

[274] MS. 5,650 adds: "and treat his subjects well."

[275] This phrase is omitted in MS. 5,650.

[276] MS. 5,650 adds: "who was in the captain's ship."

[277] MS. 5,650 reads: "Thereupon the king told them that he was willing, and that as a greater token of his love, he would send the captain a drop of his blood from his right arm, and [asked] the captain to do the same."

[278] MS. 5,650 reads: "Consequently they should ask their captain whether he intended to observe the custom."

[279] MS. 5,650 reads: "he should commence by giving a present, whereupon the captain would do his duty." This MS. begins another chapter at this point.

[280] MS. 5,650 reads: "so do our arms destroy the enemies of our faith."

[281] MS. 5,650 adds: "of the ships."

[282] MS. 5,650 reads: "and whether that prince who had come with them, was empowered to make peace."

[283] MS. 5,650 omits these last two clauses.

[284] This phrase is omitted in MS. 5,650.

[285] MS. 5,650 adds: "and for love toward God."

[286] MS. 5,650: "he would leave them the arms that the Christians use."

[287] These last two clauses are omitted in MS. 5,650.

[288] MS. 5,650 adds: "of Sainct Jacques [*i.e.*, Santiago]."

[289] This sentence is omitted in MS. 5,650.

[290] Called "drynking gla//es of Venice woorke" in Eden (p. 257).

[291] MS. 5,650 reads: "He had his face painted with fire in various designs." Eden reads: "and had the residue of his body paynted with dyuers coloures whereof /um were lyke vnto flamynge fyre."

[292] MS. 5,650 reads: "he had four jars full of palm-wine, which he was drinking through reed pipes."

[293] MS. 5,650 reads: "We made the due reverence to him while presenting to him the present sent him by the captain, and told him through the mouth of the interpreter that it was not to be regarded as a recompense for his present which he had made to the captain, but for the love which the captain bore him." This MS. omits the following three sentences.

[294] The "Sinus Magnus" of Ptolemy, today the Chinese Gulf (Mosto, p. 76, note 3).

[295] This passage is considerably abbreviated in MS. 5,650, where it reads as follows: "The prince, the king's nephew, took us to his house, where he showed us four girls who were playing on four very strange and very sweet instruments, and their manner of playing was somewhat musical. Afterward he had us dance with them. Those girls were naked except that they wore a garment made of the said palm-tree cloth before their privies and which hung from the waist to the knee, although some were quite naked. We were given refreshments there, and then we returned to the ships." These gongs are used in many parts of the Orient.

[296] MS. 5,650 adds: "by the captain's order."

[297] MS. 5,650 reads: "we told him of the death of our man, and that our captain requested that he might be buried."

[298] MS. 5,650 adds: "according to our manner."

[299] MS. 5,650 reads: "The king took it under his charge, and promised that no trickery or wrong would be done the king. Four of our men were chosen to despatch and to sell the said merchandise."

[300] MS. 5,650 reads: "They have wooden balances like those of Pardeca to weigh their merchandise." *Pardeca*, as Stanley points out, is for *par de ça de Loire* which is equivalent to *Langue d'oil*, and denotes the region in France north of the Loire. *Par de la* meant Languedoc. This passage was adapted to the French

understanding by the person who translated and adapted the Italian manuscript.

[301] This sentence is omitted in MS. 5,650. As Mosto points out the measure here mentioned would be one of capacity, and must have been the common measure for rice, perhaps the ganta.

[302] *Lagan* is a shellfish found in the Philippines which has a shell resembling that of the *Nautilus pompilius* that is used for holding incense or as a drinking vessel. This shell is very white inside, while the exterior is spotted a pale yellow color. It resembles mother-of-pearl, and is very common. Delgado says that most of the shellfish are indigestible but highly esteemed. See Delgado's *Historia*, p. 928.

[303] MS. 5,650 adds: "Which was of various strange kinds."

[304] Eden says: "xvi. poundes weyght of iren."

[305] MS. 5,650 reads: "The captain-general did not wish to take too great a quantity of gold, so that the sailors might not sell their share in the merchandise too cheaply, because of their lust for gold, and so that on that account he should not be constrained to do the same with his merchandise, for he wished to sell it at as high a price as possible."

[306] MS. 5,650 adds: "or any other balls."

[307] MS. 5,650 makes the two armed men follow instead of precede the royal banner.

[308] MS. 5,650 adds: "and the natives of the country for their fear of it, fled hither and thither," which is in place of the following sentence.

[309] This sentence is omitted in MS. 5,650.

[310] MS. 5,650 reads: "One covered with red and the other with velvet."

[311] MS. 5,650 adds: "in the manner of the country."

[312] The account of the baptism of the king is considerably abridged in MS. 5,650 where it reads as follows: "Then the captain began to address the king through the interpreter, in order that he might incite him to the faith of Jesus Christ. He told him that if he wished to become a good Christian (as he had signified on the preceding day), that he must have all the idols of his country burned and set up a cross in their place, which they were all to adore daily on both knees, with hands clasped and raised toward the heaven. The captain showed the king how he was to make the sign of the cross daily. In reply the king and all his men said that they would obey the captain's commandment, and do all that he told them. The captain took the king

by the hand, and they walked to the platform. At his baptism the captain told the king that he would call him Dom Charles, after the emperor his sovereign. He named the prince Dom Fernand, after the brother of the said emperor, and the king of Mazzaua, Jehan. He gave the name of Christofle to the Moro, while he called each of the others by names according to his fancy. Thus before the mass fifty men [*sic*: but an error of the French adapter for five hundred] were baptized. At the conclusion of mass, the captain invited the king and the others of his chief men to dine with him, but he would not accept. However, he accompanied the captain to the shore, where, at his arrival, the ships discharged all the artillery. Then embracing they took leave of one another." Eden gives the number baptized as five hundred men.

[313] MS. 5,650 reads: "On seeing that, she expressed the greatest desire to become a Christian, and asking for baptism, she was baptized and given the name of Jehanne, after the emperor's mother."

[314] There are many cases of this wholesale baptism in the history of the Catholic missions in various countries, and it cannot be condemned entirely and regarded as devoid of good effects, for many instances reveal the contrary. See *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland reissue).

[315] Those last six words are omitted in MS. 5,650. Mosto conjectures that *solana* means *solecchio* or *solicchio* signifying an apparatus to protect one from the sun. Pigafetta may have misapplied the Spanish word *solana*, which signifies a place bathed by the noontide sun or a place in which to take the sun.

[316] This last clause is omitted in MS. 5,650.

[317] MS. 5,650 adds: "and we gave it to her." This was the image found by one of Legazpi's soldiers in Cebú in 1565 (see VOL. II, pp. 120, 121, 128, 216, 217; and VOL. V, p. 41). Encarnación (*Dic. bisaya-español*, Manila, 1851), says: "The Cebuan Indians, both past and present, give the name of *Bathála* [God] to the image of the Holy Child, which is supposed to have been left by the celebrated Magallanes."

[318] MS. 5,650 reads: "evening."

[319] MS. 5,650 mentions only the artillery. The "tromb" or "trunk" was a kind of hand rocket-tube made of wood and hooped with iron, and was used for discharging wild-fire or Greek-fire (see Corbett's *Spanish War*, 1585-87 [London], 1898, p. 335). At this point Stanley discontinues the narrative of MS. 5,650, and translates from Amoretti's version of the Italian MS.

[320] MS. 5,650 reads: "to better instruct and confirm him in the faith."

[321] Eden says the queen was preceded by "three younge damo-/elles and three men with theyr cappes in theyr handes."

[322] MS. 5,650 adds: "and presentation."

[323] MS. 5,650 reads simply for this last clause: "and several others," omitting all the names.

[324] MS. 5,650 reads: "and they all so swore."

[325] MS. 5,650 reads from this point: "Then they swore, and thus the captain caused the king to swear by that image, by the life of the emperor his sovereign, and by his habit, to ever remain faithful and subject to the emperor," thus ascribing this oath to the king instead of to Magalhães. The words "by his habit" can refer only to Magalhães, who wore that of Santiago, and not to any habit worn by the barbaric ruler of Cebú.

[326] MS. 5,650 adds: "and hang."

[327] MS. 5,650 adds: "and deck."

[328] MS. 5,650 adds: "and demolished."

[329] MS. 5,650 adds: "and overthrew."

[330] There is a strange difference between the Italian MS. and MS. 5,650 in regard to these names. The latter reads to this point: "There are a number of villages in that island, whose names and those of their chiefs are as follows: Cinghapola, Cilaton, Ciguibucan, Cimaningha, Cimaticat, and Cicambul; another, Mandaui, and its chief and seignior, Lambuzzan; another Cotcot, and its chief, Acibagalen; another, Puzzo, and its chief, Apanoan; another, Lalan, and its chief, Theteu; another, Lulutan, and its chief, Tapan [Amoretti, followed by Stanley, says Japau, and Mosto, Iapan]; another Cilumay; and also Lubucun." Amoretti, who places this list after the disastrous battle and consequent treachery of the Cebuans, and Stanley, have "Lubucin: its chief is Cilumai." Mandaui is Mandaue; Lalan may be Liloan; Cot-cot is on the east coast; Lubucun may be Lubú, but Mosto (p. 78, note 3) conjectures it to be Lambusan. An examination of the Nancy MS. may reveal the source of this difference.

[331] MS. 5,650 adds after the word *borchies*: "instruments so called."

[332] Probably cotton cloth. See Stanley's *East African and Malabar Coasts*, p. 65: "They make there [*i.e.*, in Cambay] many cloths of white cotton, fine and coarse, and other woven and colored fabrics, of all kinds and colours."

[333] MS. 5,650 adds: "and closed."

[334] MS. 5,650 reads: "She who has killed the hog, puts a

lighted torch in her mouth, which she extinguishes, and which she holds constantly alight with her teeth during that ceremony."

[335] Cf. the ceremonies of the *baylanes* described by Loarca, VOL. V, pp. 131, 133, and by Chirino, VOL. XII, p. 270.

[336] *Otorno*: Mosto, p. 79, mistranscribes *otoro*, and queries *Attorno* in a note.

[337] MS. 5,650 omits the description of this custom, giving only the first and last sentence to this point. Stanley omits the translation to this point. See VOL. V, p. 117, and VOL. XVI, p. 130, where Loarca and Morga describe this custom.

[338] *Valzi*: Mosto queries vasi, "jars," which appears probable.

[339] MS. 5,650 adds: "made in the manner abovesaid;" but this was crossed out, showing that the writer or adapter of that MS. had at first intended to narrate the custom that is given in the Italian MS.

[340] This word is omitted in MS. 5,650.

[341] MS. 5,650 reads: "The other women sit about the dead chamber sadly and in tears."

[342] Pigafetta uses the present and imperfect tenses rather indiscriminately throughout this narration, but we have translated uniformly in the present. Cf. Loarca's description of burial and mourning customs among the Visayans, VOL. V, pp. 129, 135, 137-141; Plasencia's description among the Tagálogs, VOL. VII, pp. 194, 195; and Morga, VOL. XVI, p. 133.

[343] MS. 5,650 reads: "five or six hours."

[344] Eden in describing the island of Matan confuses the Pigafetta narrative. He says: "Not farre from this Ilande of Zubut, is the Iland of Mathan, whoſe inhabitauntes vſe maruelous ceremonies in theyr ſacrifices to the ſoone and burying the deade. They were rynges of gold abowt theyr priuie members." In the description of the battle in Matan, Eden says that each of the three divisions of the islanders contained "two thouſand and fiftie men armed with bowes, arrowes, dartes and iauelins hardened at the poyntes with fyer."

[345] To this point the Italian MS. and MS. 5,650 agree approximately. The story of the battle in the latter MS., however, is much abridged and much less graphic. It is as follows: "They replied that they had bamboo spears and stakes burned and hardened in the fire, and that we could attack them when we wished. At daybreak, forty-nine of us leaped into the water, in the place whither we had thus gone, at a distance of more than three [*sic*] crossbow flights before we could reach shore, for the boats could

not approach nearer because of the rocks and reefs which were in the water. Thus we reached land, and attacked them. They were arranged in three divisions, of more than one thousand five hundred persons. We shot many arrows at them from a distance, but it was in vain, for they received them on their shields. They leaped hither and thither in such a way that scarce could we wound one of them. On the other hand, our artillery in the boats was so far away from us that it could not aid us. Those people seeing that, and that the captain had had some of their houses burned in order to inspire them with terror, and having become more enraged, threw so many iron pointed spears at us, and shot so many arrows even at the captain himself that we could defend ourselves with difficulty. Finally, having been driven by them quite down to the shore, and while our captain was fighting bravely although wounded in the leg with an arrow, one of those Indians hurled a poisoned bamboo lance into his face which laid him stiff and dead. Then they pressed upon us so closely that we were forced to retire to our boats and to leave the dead body of the captain-general, with our other killed." The eulogy on the dead commander is approximately the same in both MSS., except at the end, where MS. 5,650 reads: "Eight of our men died there with him, and four Indians, who had become Christians. Of the enemy fifteen were killed by the artillery of the ships, which had at last come to our aid, while many of us were wounded."

Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 308) says of the stay at Cebú and the death of Magalhães: "They stayed there about one month, and the majority of the people and the king became Christians. The king of Zubó ordered the kings of the other islands to come to him, but inasmuch as two of them refused to come, Magallanes, as soon as he learned it, resolved to go to fight with them, and went to an island called Mathá. He set fire to a village, and not content with that, set out for a large settlement, where he, his servant, and five Castilians were killed in combat with the savages. The others, seeing their captain dead, went back to their boats."

[346] *Terciado*: a Spanish word.

[347] *Carteava*: a Spanish word.

[348] The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 12) dates the battle April 28. The account of the battle is as follows: "Fernan de Magalhães desired that the other kings, neighbours to this one, should become subject to this who had become Christian: and these did not choose to yield such obedience. Fernan de Magalhães seeing that, got ready one night with his boats, and burned the villages of those who would not yield the said obedience; and a matter of ten or twelve days after this was done, he sent to a village about

half a league from that which he had burned, which is named Matam, and which is also an island, and ordered them to send him at once three goats, three pigs, three loads of rice, and three loads of millet for provisions for the ships; they replied that for each article which he sent to ask them three of, they would send to him by twos, and if he was satisfied with this they would at once comply, if not, it might be as he pleased, but that they would not give it. Because they did not choose to grant what he demanded of them, Fernan de Magalhães ordered three boats to be equipped with a matter of fifty or sixty men, and went against the said place, which was on the 28th day of April, in the morning; there they found many people, who might well be as many as three thousand or four thousand men, who fought with such a good will that the said Fernan de Magalhães was killed there, with six of his men, in the year 1521."

[349] Navarrete (iv, pp. 65, 66) gives the names of the men killed with Magalhães on April 27 as follows: Christóbal Rabelo, then captain of the "Victoria;" Francisco Espinosa, a sailor; Anton Gallego, a common seaman; Juan de Torres, sobresaliente and soldier; Rodrigo Nieto, servant of Juan de Cartagena; Pedro Gomez, servant of Gonzalo Espinosa; and Anton de Escovar, sobresaliente, wounded but died April 29.

[350] See VOL. I, pp. 325, 326, note 215*.

[351] MS. 5,650 gives this name as Duart Bobase, although lower it is spelled Barbase. Duarte or Odoardo Barbosa, the son of Diogo Barbosa, who after serving in Portugal, became alcaide of the Sevilla arsenal, was born at Lisbon at the end of the fifteenth century. He spent the years 1501-1516 in the Orient, the result of that stay being his *Livro emque dà relação do que viu e ouviu no Oriente*, which was first published at Lisbon in 1813 in vol. vii of *Collecçao de noticias para a historia et geographia das nações ultramarinas*, and its translation by Stanley, *A description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1866). He became a clerk in the Portuguese factory at Cananor under his uncle Gil Fernandez Barbosa, and became so expert in the Malabar language that he was said to speak it even better than the natives. On account of his facility in the language he had been appointed commissioner by Nuno da Cunha to negotiate peace with the Zamorin. He was commissioned in 1515 to oversee the construction of some galleys by Alboquerque. While at Sevilla, Magalhães lived in the household of Diogo Barbosa, where he married Duarte's sister Beatriz. Duarte embarked on the "Trinidad" as a sobresaliente, and it was he who captured the "Victoria" from the mutineers at Port St. Julian, after which he became captain of that vessel. Failing to recover Magalhães's body from the natives of Mactán, he was

himself slain at Cebú at the fatal banquet May 1, 1521. Besides the above book, which is a most valuable contribution to early Oriental affairs, there is extant in the Torre do Tombo a letter written by him from Cananor, January 12, 1513, complaining of the Portuguese excesses. See Guillemard's *Magellan*; Stanley's *Vasco da Gama*; Birch's *Alboquerque*; and Hoefer's *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (Paris, 1855).

[352] See *ante*, note 147.

[353] Magalhães married Beatriz Barbosa, daughter of Diogo Barbosa in Sevilla, probably in the year 1517. One son Rodrigo was born of the union, who was about six months old at the time of the departure. Rodrigo died in September, 1521, and in the March following Beatriz died. See Guillemard, *ut supra*, pp. 89-91, 322.

[354] MS. 5,650 adds: "and to advise the Christian king."

[355] Mosto transcribes this word wrongly as *facente*, "busy." MS. 5,650 reads: "wiser and more affectionate than before."

[356] MS. 5,650 adds: "and presents."

[357] The constable was Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, who was left behind with the "Trinidad" and was one of the four survivors of that ill-fated vessel, returning to Spain long after.

[358] This sentence is confused in MS. 5,650, reading: *jehan Caruaie auecques le bariſel ſen retournerẽt qui nous dirent comment jlz auoyent veu mener celluy quy fut guery par miracle et le preſtre a ſa maiſon et que pour cela jlz ſen eſtoyent partiz eulx doubtans de quelque male aduanture.* By dropping the first *et* this becomes equivalent to the text.

[359] MS. 5,650 reads: "for we would kill him."

[360] MS. 5,650 reads: "But Jehan Carvaie, his comrade, and others refused, for fear lest they would not remain masters there if the boat went ashore."

In regard to João Serrão's death, Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 309) says: "As soon as the men in the ships saw that slaughter, they hoisted their anchors, and tried to set sail in order to return to Burneo. At that juncture, the savages brought Juan Serrano, one of those whom they wished to ransom, and asked two guns and two bahars of copper for him, besides some Brittanias or linens such as they carried in the ships as merchandise of trade and barter. Serrano told them to take him to the ship and he would give them what they asked, but they, on the contrary, insisted that those things be taken ashore. But [the men in the ships] fearing another act of treachery like the past, set sail, and abandoned that man there, and nothing more was heard of him."

[361] The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 13) says nothing about the banquet, but says that the men, twenty-eight in number, counting the two captains, went ashore to ask pilots to Borneo, whereupon the natives, who had determined upon their course of action attacked and killed them. Peter Martyr (Mosto, p. 81, note 5) asserts that the violation of the women by the sailors was the cause of the massacre. Concerning the number killed, Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 309) says that thirty-five or thirty-six men went ashore, and Castanheda and Gomara say thirty, the last asserting that a like number were made slaves, of whom eight were sold in China. Peter Martyr places the number of the slain at twelve. Navarrete (iv, pp. 66, 67) gives the names of those massacred as follows:

Duarte Barbosa	captain of the "Trinidad"
Juan Serrano	captain of the "Concepcion"
Luis Alfonso de Gois . . .	captain of the "Victoria"
Andres de S. Martin . . .	pilot of his Majesty
Sancho de Heredia	notary
Leon de Ezpeleta	notary
Pedro de Valderrama . . .	priest
Francisco Martin	cooper
Simon de la Rochela . . .	calker
Cristóbal Rodriguez . . .	steward
Francisco de Madrid . . .	sobresaliente and soldier
Hernando de Aguilar . . .	servant of Luis de Mendoza
Guillermo Fenesi *or* Tanaguì .	gunner of the "Trinidad"
Anton Rodriguez	sailor
Juan Sigura	sailor
Francisco Picora	sailor
Francisco Martin	sailor
Anton de Goa	common seaman
Rodrigo de Hurrira	common seaman
Pedro Herrero	sobresaliente
Hartiga	sobresaliente
Juan de Silva, Portuguese . .	sobresaliente
Nuño	servant of Magallanes
Henrique, from Málaca . .	servant of Magallanes and interpreter
Peti Juan, French	servant of Magallanes
Francisco de la Mezquita . .	servant of Magallanes
Francisco	son-in-law of Juan Serrano

All of these names are to be found in Navarrete's list. See *ante*, note 26.

[362] *Chiacare*: the nangca; see VOL. XXXIV, p. 107, where Pigafetta describes and names this fruit. Mosto confuses it with the *durio zibethenus*, which is abundant in the western islands of the Indian

archipelagoes, Mindanao being the only one of the Philippines where it is found (Crawfurd, *Dictionary*); but it is the *Artocarpus integrifolia* (see VOL. XVI, p. 88, note 72). MS. 5,650 makes this "capers."

[363] MS. 5,650 omits mention of the panicum, sorgo, garlic, and nangcas.

[364] MS. 5,650 reads: "one to the east northeast, and the other to the west southwest."

[365] MS. 5,650 adds: "and eleven minutes."

[366] Stanley says wrongly 154°.

[367] This word ends a page in the original Italian MS. On the following page is a repetition of the title: *Vocabili deli populi gentilli*, that is "Words of those heathen peoples." MS. 5,650 does not contain this list, and it is also omitted by Stanley.

[368] See *ante*, note 160.

[369] *Bassag bassag* does not correspond to "shin," but to "basket for holding clothes, etc.," or "cartilage of the nose;" or possibly to *basac basac*, "the sound made by falling water."

[370] The equivalent of Pigafetta's *dana* is *daoa* or *daua*, "millet." *Mais*, probably the equivalent of *humas* is the word for "panicum."

[371] *Tahil* is found in the Tagálog dictionaries, and is the name of a specific weight, not weight in general. It is the Chinese weight called "tael," which was introduced by the Chinese into the East Indies, whence it spread throughout the various archipelagoes. See Crawfurd's *Dictionary*; and VOLS. III, p. 192, note 57; IV, p. 100, note 11; and VII, p. 88.

[372] See Note 582, *post*.

[373] Tinapay (used also by the Bicols to denote any kind of bread) denotes a kind of cake or loaf made with flour and baked about the size of a chocolate-cup saucer. Two of these are put together before baking with some sugar between. The word is extended also to wheat bread and to the hosts. See Encarnación's *Diccionario*.

[374] Amoretti's conjectured reading of *sonaglio* ("hawk's-bell") for *conaglio* (see Mosto, p. 83), proves correct from the Visayan dictionaries.

[375] *Baloto* signifies a canoe dug out of a single log. One of twenty varas in length is termed *bilis*, while the hull alone is called *dalámas*.

[376] Most of the words of Pigafetta's Visayan vocabulary can be distinguished in the dictionaries of that language, although

it is necessary to make allowance at times for Pigafetta's Italian phonetic rendering. Following is a list of the words that can be distinguished from *Diccionario bisaya-español y espanol-bisaya* (Manila, 1885), by Juan Félix de la Encarnación, O.S.A. (Recollect); and *Diccionario Hispano-bisaya y bisaya-español* (Manila, 1895) by Antonio Sanchez de la Rosa, O.S.F. See also *Pocket dictionary of the English, Spanish and Visayan languages* (Cebu, 1900) by H. M. Cohen; and Mallat's *Les Philippines* (Paris, 1846), ii, pp. 175-238. The words queried in the following list are simply offered as conjectural equivalents.

English	(*Pigafetta*)	*Visayan* (*Encarnación*)	(*Sanchez*)
man	lac	———	lalaqui (?)
woman (married)	babay	babaye	babaye
hair	boho	bohóc	bohoc
face	guay	———	bayhon (?)
eyebrows	chilei	quilay	quiray
eye	matta	matà	mata
nose	ilon	ilong	irong
jaw	apin	aping	aping
mouth	baba	bá-ba	bábá
teeth	nipin	ngipon	ngipon
gums	leghex	lagos	lagus
tongue	dilla	dila	dila
ear	delenghan	dalonggan	doronggan
throat	liogh	liog	———
chin	queilan	solang (?)	sulang (?)
beard	bonghot	bongot	bongot
shoulder	bagha	abaga	abaga
spine [backbone]	licud	licod	licod
breast	dughan	doghan	dughan
body	tiam	tian	tian
armpit	ilot	iloc	iroc
arm	botchen	bocton; botcon	butcon
elbow	sico	sico	sico
hand	camat	camot	camut
palm of hand	palan	palad [sa camot]	palad [sa camut]
finger	dudlo	todlo	tudlo
fingernail	coco	coco	coco; colo
navel	pusut	posad	posud
penis	utin	otin	otin

English	*Visayan* (*Pigafetta*)	(*Encarnación*)	(*Sanchez*)
testicles	boto	boto	boto
vagina	billat	bilat	bilat
buttocks	samput	sampot	———
thigh	paha	paa	paa
knee	tuhud	tohod	tohud
calf of leg	bitis	bitiis	bíti-is
ankle	bolbol	bool bool	boco boco
heel	tiochid	ticód	ticud
sole of foot	lapa lapa	lapa lapa	———
gold	balaoan	buláoan	bulauan
silver	pilla	pilác	———
brass	concach	calonggáqui	———
iron	butan	pothao	puthao
sugarcane	tube	tobó	tubo
honey	deghex	dogos	dugos
wax	talho	talo	talo
salt	acin	asín	asin
wine	tuba nia nipa	toba nga nipa	tuba nga nipa
to eat	macan	pagcaon (?)	pagcaon (?)
hog	babui	baboy	babuy
goat	candin	canding	canding
chicken	monoch	manóc	manuc
pepper	manissa	malisa	———
cloves	chianche	sangqui	sangqui
cinnamon	mana	mana	mana
ginger	luia	loy-a	luy-a
garlic	laxuna	lasona	lasona
egg	silong	itlog	itlug
cocoanut	lubi	lobí	lubi
vinegar	zlucha	suca	suca
water	tubin	tobig; tubig	tubig
fire	clayo	calayo	calayo
smoke	assu	aso	aso
balances	tinban	timbangan	timbang; timbangan
pearl	mutiara	mutia	mutia
mother-of-pearl	tipay	tipay	tipay
pipe	subin	sobing	subing
rice cakes	tinapai	tinapay	tinapay
good	main	maayo	maopay
knife	capol; sundan	sipol; sondang	sipol; sundang
scissors	catle	catli	catli
to shave	chunthinch	gunting	———
linen	balandan	balantan	———

English	(*Pigafetta*)	*Visayan* (*Encarnación*)	(*Sanchez*)
their cloth [*i.e.*, hemp]	abaca	abacá	abacá
hawk's bell	coloncolon	colongcolong	goronggorong
comb	cutlei	surlay	sodlay
shirt	sabun	———	sabong (?) [*i.e.*, ornament]
sewing-needle	daghu	dagom	dagum
dog	aian; ydo	——; iro	ayam; ——
scarf [veil]	gapas	gapas [*i.e.*, cotton]	———
house	ilaga; balai	——; balay	——; balay
timber	tatamue	tatha (?) [*i.e.*, to split] or pata (?) [*i.e.*, a piece of wood or bamboo]	tahamis (?)
mat	tagichan	tagicán	taguican
palm-mat	bani	banig	banag
cushion	uliman	olnan, and allied forms (?)	olonan (?)
wooden platters	dulan	dolong	dulang
sun	adlo	arlao	adlao
star	bunthun	bitoon (?)	bitoon (?)
morning	uema	ogma; odma (?)	———
cup	tagha	tagay	tagay
bow	bossugh	bosog	bosog
arrow	oghun	odyong	odiong
shield	calassan	calasag	calasag
quilted armor	baluti	baloti	———
dagger	calix; baladao	calis; baladao	caris; baladao
cutlass	campilan	campilan	campilang
spear	bancan	bangcao	bangcao
like	tuan	———	to-ang
banana	saghin	saguing	saguing
gourd	baghin	bagong	———
net	pucat; laia	——; laya	raya
small boat	sampan	sampan	sampan
large canes	cauaghan	caoayan	cauayan
small canes	bonbon	bongbong	bongbong

English	(*Pigafetta*)	*Visayan* (*Encarnación*)	(*Sanchez*)
large boats	balanghai	balañgay	barangay
small boats	boloto	baloto	baloto
crabs	cuban	coboa	———
fish	icam; yssida	——: isda	——; isda
a colored fish	panapsapan	panapsápan	panapsapan
a red fish	timuan	———	tiao (?)
another fish	pilax	———	pilas
ship	benaoa	bángca	———
king	raia	hari	hadi
one	uzza	usá	usa
two	dua	doha	duha
three	tolo	toló	tolo
four	upat	opát	upat
five	lima	limá	lima
six	onom	onóm	unum
seven	pitto	pitó	pito
eight	gualu	oaló	ualo
nine	ciam	siàm	siam
ten	polo	napoló	napolo

Some of the words present difficulties however, due probably to error on Pigafetta's part and the obstacles in the method of communication between peoples the genius of whose respective languages is entirely distinct. The general Visayan word for "man" is *tao* or *tauo*, although Mallat gives a form *dala*, which may correspond to the *lac* of Pigafetta (but see VOL. V, p. 123, where the origin of the words *lalac*, "man," and *babaye*, "woman," are given by Loarca). *Babaye* (*babae*) is the general word for "woman" or "married woman;" while *binibini* is given by Mallat as the Tagálog equivalent of "girl," and by Santos in his *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* (Manila, 1835) as the equivalent of "influential woman." *Liog* is used for both "throat" and "neck." *Tian* is properly "belly," and the mistake would arise naturally in Pigafetta pointing to himself when desiring the word for "body," which would be construed by the natives to that particular part toward which he happened to point. *Boto* is used for both the male and female generative organs, especially the latter, as well as for the testicles. *Britiis* corresponds to both "shin" and "calf of the leg." *Iro* denotes also the civet cat. *Bulan* the equivalent of Pigafetta's *bolon* is the word for "moon" instead of "star." The occurrence of what are today Tagálog forms in Pigafetta's list shows how the various dialects shade into one another and how the one has retained words that have sunk into disuse in the other.

[377] Preceding this paragraph in the Italian MS. (folio 38b) is the chart of the island of Panilonghon (Panisonghon; *q.v.*, p. 202). It is given on folio 51a of MS. 5,650, preceded by the words: "Below is shown the islands of Panilonghon."

[378] The "Roteiro" (Stanley, pp. 13, 14) says that the captains elected in place of those killed at Cebú were "Joam Lopez [Carvalho], who was the chief treasurer" to "be captain-major of the fleet, and the chief constable of the fleet" to "be captain of one of the ships; he was named Gonzalo Vaz Despinosa." Pigafetta makes no mention at all of Elcano, who brought the "Victoria" home; both the above captains remaining with the "Trinidad." When the "Concepcion" was burned, only one hundred and fifteen men were left for the working of the two ships (see Guillemard, *ut supra*, p. 267), although the "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 14) says one hundred and eight men, and Barros, one hundred and eighty.

[379] In Eden: "Pauiloghon, where they founde blacke men lyke vnto the Sara/ins." This is the island of Panglao and the "black men" are the Negritos. See W. A. Reed's *Negritos of Zambales*, published by Department of the Interior "Ethnological Survey Publications" ii, part i (Manila, 1904), which says (p. 20) that the only large islands, besides Luzón, inhabited at present by Negritos are Panay, Negros, Mindanao, and Paragua, although they do inhabit some of the smaller islands. The pure type is decreasing through marriage with the Bukidnon or mountain Visayans; and (p. 22) "so far there is no evidence that Negritos exist on Cebu, Bohol, Samar, and Leyte. The Negrito population of the Philippines is probably not in excess of 25,000. The U. S. census report of 1900 gives to Panglao a population of 14,347, all civilized. See also *Census of the Philippines*, i, pp. 411, 415, 436, 468, 478, 532, 533.

[380] MS. 5,650 reads: "When entering that house, we were preceded by many reed and palmleaf torches."

[381] These two words are omitted in MS. 5,650.

[382] See Crawfurd's *Dictionary*, pp. 368, 369, on the origin and use of rice in the eastern islands, and the etymology of the native names for that grain; and *Census of the Philippines*, iv.

[383] Instead of this last clause, MS. 5,650 reads: "where he slept with his principal wife."

[384] MS. 5,650 reads: "in the houses of the king."

[385] MS. 5,650 reads: "little valleys."

[386] Cf. VOL. III, pp. 56, 57.

[387] MS. 5,650 reads: "boat."

[388] MS. 5,650 reads: "Calanoa;" and Eden: "Calauar."

[389] MS. 5,650 reads: "one hundred and sixty-six;" and Eden: "170."

[390] Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 221) reads as follows when relating the course of the ships on leaving Cebú: "We left Subu and sailed southwest to a latitude of 9 and three-fourths degrees, between the end of Subu and an island called Bohol. Toward the western end of Subu lies another island, by name, Panilongo, which is inhabited by blacks. That island and Subu contain gold and considerable ginger. The former lies in 9 and one-third degrees and Subu in 10 and one-third degrees. Accordingly we left that channel and went 10 leguas south and anchored in the island of Bohol. There we made two ships of the three, burning the third, because we had no men. The last-named island lies in 9 and one-half degrees. We left Bohol and sailed southwest toward Quipit, and anchored at that settlement on the right hand side of a river. On the northwest and open side are two islets which lie in 8 and one-half degrees. We could get no food there, for the people had none, but we made peace with them. That island of Quipit contains a quantity of gold, ginger, and cinnamon. Accordingly, we determined to go in search of food. The distance from the headland of Quipit to the first islands is about 112 leguas. It and the islands lie in an east by north and south by west direction; and this island [*i.e.*, Mindanao] extends quite generally east and west."

The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 14) calls the port of Quipit (which is located on the northeastern coast of Mindanao) Capyam or Quype. Carvalho gave the boat of the burned ship to the inhabitants of that place. Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 309) says that they learned the location of Borneo at Mindanao. Quipit becomes Gibith in Transylvanus, Chipico in Peter Martyr, and Quepindo in Barros (see Mosto, p. 84, note 2).

[391] The first European mention of the island of Luzón. Luzón is derived from the Malay *lâsung* (Tagálog, *losong*), "mortar." See Crawfurd's *Dictionary*, pp. 222, 223.

[392] Pigafetta evidently means the Chinese by the Lequians who are known to have carried on trade for many years with the Philippines, and who indeed, once owned them.

Following this paragraph in the Italian MS. (folio 40a) is the chart of Caghaiam (*q.v.*, p. 202). This chart is shown on folio 53b in MS. 5,650, preceded by the words: "Below is shown the island of Caghaian."

[393] MS. 5,650 does not mention the cuirasses.

[394] Eden reads: "40. leagues."

[395] Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 221) says: "We left that place [*i.e.*, Quipit] and sailed west southwest, southwest, and west, until we came to an island containing very few inhabitants and called Quagayan. We anchored in the northern part of that island, where we asked for the location of the island of Poluan, in order to get provisions of rice, for that island contains it in abundance, and many ships are laden there for other districts. Accordingly we sailed west northwest and came across the headland of the island of Poluan." The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 14) calls Cagaiam, Caram. It is the island of Cagayan Sulu, which lies northeast of Borneo.

[396] The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 15) says that the ships contained only sufficient provisions for a week.

[397] Eden reads: "C.lxxix. degrees and a third parte." MS. 5,650 reads: "one hundred and sixty-one and one-third degrees."

[398] Occurrences at Palawan are given as follows by Albo (Navarrete, iv, pp. 221, 222): "Then we sailed north by east along the coast [of Palawan] until we reached a village called Saocao, where we made peace. Its inhabitants were Moros. We went to another village of Cafres, where we bartered for a considerable quantity of rice, and consequently laid in a good supply of provisions. That coast extends northeast and southwest. The headland of its northeastern part lies in 9 and one-third degrees, and that of the southwestern part in 8 and one-third degrees. Then on returning to the southwest quite to the headland of this island, we found an island near which is a bay. In this course and along Poluan many shoals are found. This headland lies east and west with Quipit and northeast by east and southwest by west with Quagayan."

The "Roteiro" (Stanley, pp. 15-17) gives a fuller account of occurrences at Palawan. At the first settlement at which they attempt to land, the natives prove hostile, whereupon they go toward another island, but contrary weather compelling them to anchor near Palawan, they are invited ashore on that island by the people of another village. There one of the soldiers, Joam de Campos, lands alone in order to get provisions. Being received kindly at this port, named Dyguasam (perhaps Puerto Princesa), the people set about preparing provisions for the strangers. Then going to another nearby village, where Carvalho makes peace with the chief, provisions of rice, goats, and swine are bought. At the latter village, a Portuguese-speaking negro who has been baptized at the Moluccas, is met, who prom-

ises to guide them to Borneo, but he fails them at the last moment. Capturing a prau and three Moros near the former village, they are guided to Borneo. Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 309) says that the two ships remained a month in Palawan, "a rich country, where they got new directions about Burneo, and captured two men to guide them there."

At this point in the Italian MS. (folio 41a) follows the chart of Sundan and Pulaoam (*q.v.*, p. 210). MS. 5,650 shows it on folio 54b, where it is preceded by the words: "Chart of the island of Pulaoan and the port of Tegozzao."

[399] MS. 5,650 reads: "all."

[400] This passage is defective in MS. 5,650, where it reads as follows: "They have bows with wooden arrows more than one palmo long, some of which are pointed with long sharp fishbones, poisoned with poisonous herbs, while others are tipped with poisoned bamboo."

[401] MS. 5,650 reads: "mace." Jannetone as pointed out by Mosto (p. 85, note 4) was a missile weapon.

[402] Cockfighting is still the great diversion of the Malays and Malasian peoples. See Wallace's *Malay Archipelago* (New York, 1869), p. 477; and Bowring's *Visit to Philippine Isles* (London, 1859), pp. 149-153.

[403] Eden reads: "fyue leaques."

[404] From the Spanish word *almadia*, (a sort of canoe used by the inhabitants of the East Indies; also a boat used by the Portuguese and their slaves in the East Indies: generally of one single tree, although there are various kinds, to one of which is given the name *coche*, "carriage") which is derived from the Arabic *al-madia* or *almadiya*, from the root *adar*, "to cross," so called because those vessels are used in crossing rivers. – Echegaray's *Dic. etimológico* (Madrid, 1887).

[405] This word is omitted in MS. 5,650.

[406] Gomara says there were eight (Mosto, p. 86, note 1).

[407] MS. 5,650 reads: "a red cap."

[408] MS. 5,650 omits the remainder of this sentence.

[409] MS. 5,650 adds: "and seigniors."

[410] Stanley makes the unhappy translation "with naked daggers in their hands, which they held on their thighs."

[411] Cf. the account of the reception accorded the captain of a Portuguese vessel in Borneo in 1578, VOL. IV, pp. 222, 223, where the king is found playing chess.

[412] This clause is omitted in MS. 5,650.

[413] The city of Brunei or Brunai. See Guillemard's *Magellan*, pp. 269-273. See also descriptions of Bornean villages in Wallace's *Malay Archipelago*; and Forest's account of Brunai quoted by Crawfurd (*Dictionary*, p. 70), who mentions the boat-markets held by the women.

[414] MS. 5,650 reads: "twenty or twenty-five thousand." Crawfurd (*Dictionary*, p. 70) thinks that Pigafetta overstates the population, and that he probably gained his information from a Malay courtier.

[415] MS. 5,650 reads: "the women and daughters."

[416] *Cherita-tulis*, "writers of narratives" (Stanley, p. 114); *jurutulis*, "adepts in writing" (Crawfurd's *Dictionary*, p. 61).

[417] MS. 5,650 reads: "timghuly."

[418] Ortelius (*Theatrum orbis terrarum*) calls this region "Lao" (see also chart on p. 210) and Mercatore (*Atlas sive cosmographicae meditationes*) "Lave." It may possibly be the modern island of Laut off the southeast of Borneo. (See Mosto, p. 87, note 3). Crawfurd (*Dictionary*, p. 72) conjectures that it is some place in Banjarmasin.

[419] The journey to Borneo, events there, and a description of Borneo are thus described by Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 222): "We sailed from Poluan to Borney. Coasting the above named island [*i.e.*, Poluan] to its southwest headland, we discovered an island with a shoal on its eastern side, and which lies in 7 and one-half degrees, so that we had to deviate to the west for about fifteen leguas. Then we sailed southwest coasting along the island of Borney to a city of the same name. You must needs know that the land must be approached closely, for there are many shoals outside, and one must keep the sounding line in constant use, for it is a harsh coast. Borney is a large city with a very large bay. Both inside and outside of it are many shoals, so that a native pilot of that place is necessary. We remained there for a considerable number of days, and commenced to trade there and made firm friendship. But later, many canoes, in number 260, were equipped to capture us and came upon us. When we saw them, we left hurriedly, and sailed out of the bay, whereupon we saw some junks coming. We went to them and captured one, in which was a son of the king of Luzon. The latter is a very large island. The captain afterward let him go [*i.e.*, the prince of Luzón] without asking advice of anyone. Borney is a large island which yields cinnamon, mirabolans, and camphor,

the last named of which is much esteemed in these lands, and it is said that when people die they are embalmed with it. Borney (that is, the port of Borney) lies in a latitude of 5 degrees and 25 minutes, and a longitude of 201 degrees and 5 minutes from the line of demarcation."

The "Roteiro" (Stanley, pp. 17-20) says that while on the way to Borneo, the ships anchor at islands which they call the islets of St. Paul (now, the Mantanani Islands – Guillemard, *Magellan*, p. 269) at a distance of two and one-half or three leagues from Borneo. Proceeding past a lofty mountain (Kina Balu – Guillemard) in Borneo, they coast that island to the port of Borneo. Anchoring in that port, the Moro pilots captured at Palawan are sent ashore with one of the crew, and on reaching the city of Borneo, they are taken before the Shahbender of Borneo. The two ships draw in closer to the city and establish trade with the natives. Gonzalo Gomez Espinosa is chosen ambassador to the king to whom he takes a present. After a stay of twenty-three days in Borneo, the men in the ships fearing treachery from the evolutions of a number of praus and junks, attack and capture one of the latter with twenty-seven men. Next morning the junk commanded by the son of the king of Luzon and ninety men, are captured. Of the seven men ashore the king sends two to the ships, but retains the others, whereupon the ships leave, taking with them fourteen men and three women of those captured in the junks. While sailing back over their downward course, the "Trinidad" grounds on a point of the island of Borneo, where it remains for four hours until swung clear by the tide.

Brito in his account (Navarrete, iv, pp. 309, 310) says that the Borneans fear at first lest the strangers be Portuguese and that their object is conquest, but finally being reassured by Espinosa who takes a present to the king, pilots are promised as far as Mindanao. During their stay of a month at Borneo, two Greeks desert the ships. Three others, among them Carvalho's son, are ashore when the fear of attack instigated by the two Greeks leads the two ships to attack the Borneans, and the five men are left behind on the island.

The island of Borneo, the largest island (properly so-called) in the world, is mentioned first by Varthema (*Travels*, Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 246-248. See also Crawfurd's *Dictionary*, pp. 57-66. See also Henry Ling Roth's *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* (London, 1896) in two volumes, which is an excellent work on modern conditions in Borneo.

[420] The word "junk" is probably derived from the Malay *Jong* or *Ajong* "a great ship." For a description of these ships,

see Yule's *Cathay* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1866), ii, pp. 417, 418.

[421] MS. 5,650 reads: "If venom or poison be put in a vase of fine porcelain, it breaks immediately." In accordance with this reading we have added in brackets in the Italian the word *veleno, i.e.*, "poison," which seems to have been omitted by the amanuensis. Mosto (p. 88, note 3) quotes the following from Marcantonio Pigafetta's *Itinerario da Vienna a Constantinopoli* (p. 208), when speaking of the present brought to Sultan Selim II by the Persian ambassador which consisted of "eight dishes [*piati firuarii*] which break if any one puts poison in them. Those *piati firuarii* are made of the substance which we call porcelain, and are made in China, the province situated in the extreme outskirts of the Orient. They are made of earth, which is kept for more than fifty years buried in the earth, in order to refine it, and which is buried by the father for his son. Thus it passes from hand to hand." See also Yule's *Cathay*, ii, p. 478; and Burnell and Tiele's *Linschoten* (Hakluyt Society publications), i, pp. 129, 130.

[422] The small brass, copper, tin, and zinc coins common throughout the eastern islands were called "pichis" or "pitis," which was the name of the ancient Javanese coin, now used as a frequent appellative for money in general. Chinese coins were early in general use throughout the southern islands of the eastern archipelagoes. See Crawfurd's *Dictionary*, pp. 285-288.

[423] The cate or catty. See VOL. XVIII, p. 141, note 32.

[424] MS. 5,650 mentions only the six porcelain dishes, the wax, and the pitch, for the last, eighty, instead of forty, cathils, of bronze being traded. The bahar of the Italian MS. becomes "barrel" or "cask" in the French. The *anime* (pitch) may have been one of the numerous resins yielded by various trees in the Philippines (see *Report of Philippine Commission*, 1900, iii, 282, 283).

[425] MS. 5,650 omits this word.

[426] Spectacles were invented in the thirteenth century; and the credit for the invention is assigned to Alessandro dì Spina, a Florentine monk, or to Roger Bacon.

[427] MS. 5,650 reads: "not to wash the buttocks with the left hand; not to eat with it."

[428] Stanley (p. 116) omits a portion of this paragraph. He says that had Pigafetta been a Spaniard or Portuguese, he would not have written as he did concerning the Mahometan laws, as he would have been better informed. Notwithstanding the fact that Stanley was a convert to Islamism and a student of that

faith, some of these practices may have been introduced into Borneo, as the rites there being far from their center, may have become vitiated or imperfectly learned in the first place. For instance, that the law was not strictly observed there is seen from the fact recorded by Pigafetta that they used the intoxicant arrack.

[429] MS. 5,650 says simply that the camphor exudes in small drops. The Malay camphor tree (*dipterocarpus* or *Dryabalanops camphora*) is confined, so far as known, to a few parts of the islands of Sumatra and Borneo, where it is very abundant. The oil (both fluid and solid) is found in the body of the tree where the sap should be, but not in all trees. The Malay name for camphor is a slight corruption of the Sanskrit one "karpura," and to distinguish it from the camphor of China and Japan, the word Barus is annexed (the name of the seaport of the western coast of Sumatra, whence camphor was chiefly exported from that island). The Malay variety is higher priced than the Chinese. See Crawfurd's *Dictionary*, p. 81.

[430] MS. 5,650 omits mention of the turnips and cabbages, and adds: "hinds."

[431] Immediately following this paragraph in the Italian MS. are three charts: 1. On folio 45b, the chart of Burne (*q.v.*, p. 210), at the lower (*i.e.*, northern) end of which is a scroll reading "Here are found the living leaves;" found on folio 60b of MS. 5,650, preceded by the words "Chart of the island of Burne and the place where the living leaves are found." 2. On folio 46b, the chart of Mindanao, which is divided into the districts of Cippit, Butuam, Maingdanao, Calagan, and Benaiam (*q.v.*, p. 230); found on folio 63a of MS. 5,650, preceded by the words "Chart of five islands – Benaian." 3. On folio 47a, the chart of the islands of Zzolo [*i.e.*, Joló], Tagima, and Chauit and Subanìn, (*q.v.*, p. 230), accompanied by a scroll reading "Where pearls are produced;" found on folio 63b of MS. 5,650, preceded by the words "Chart of the islands of Zzolo, Cauit, Tagima, and others."

[432] Cape Sampanmangio (Guillemard, p. 274). See *ante*, note 418.

[433] MS. 5,650 omits this sentence.

[434] The "Roteiro" (Stanley, p. 20) also narrates the capture of this junk.

[435] In Eden: "Cimbubon, beinge. viii. degrees aboue the Equinoctiall lyne. Here they remayned. xl. to calke theyr /hyppes and furny//e them with fre//he water and fuell." Cimbonbon is probably Banguey or one of the neighboring islets between Borneo and Palawan. It is called in the "Roteiro" (Stanley,

p. 21), port Samta Maria de Agosto, (St. Mary of August) because it was reached on the fifteenth of August, the day of our Lady of August. It is assigned a latitude of fully seven degrees. Herrera says that the ships were overhauled on Borneo itself. Guillemard (p. 274) interprets Pigafetta wrongly by saying that he assigns the careening place as Palawan or Paragua.

[436] MS. 5,650 reads: "two and one-half feet long."

[437] Cf. Transylvanus, VOL. I, pp. 330, 331. The *Tridacna gigas*, described by Delgado, *Historia*, p. 929, under the name of *taclobo*. Colin asserts that he saw one of the shells which was used as a watering-trough and another as a holy-water font. The shells sometimes attain a length of five or six feet, and weigh hundreds of pounds. The natives burn them for lime. See *Official Handbook of Philippines* (Manila, 1903), p. 152.

[438] Mosto (p. 89, note 8) conjectures this to be a fish of the family of the *Squamipen*, perhaps of the genus *Heniochus*.

[439] *Coca*: An Italian word formed from the Spanish word "chocar" "to jostle" (Mosto, p. 89, note 9). The living leaves, were the insects of the genus of Phyllium of the order of the *Orthoptera*. They are known as walking leaves from their resemblance to a leaf.

[440] This sentence is omitted in MS. 5,650. Eden says that Pigafetta kept the leaf "for the /pace of viii. dayes."

[441] The date of the departure was September 27, 1521. At this place João Carvalho was deposed from the chief command for his high-handed measures and non-observance of royal orders, and retook his old position as chief pilot. Espinosa was elected in his place and Elcano was chosen captain of the "Victoria." See Navarrete, iv, pp. 73, 289, 292, 294.

[442] Basilan; see VOL. III, p. 168, note 44.

[443] The true pearl oysters of the Philippine Islands are found along the coasts of Paragua, Mindanao, and in the Sulu Archipelago, especially in the last named, where many very valuable pearls are found. These fisheries are said to rank with the famous fisheries of Ceylon and the Persian Gulf. The mother-of-pearl of the shells is more valuable than the pearls. The Sultan of Joló claims the fisheries as his own and rents them out, but always has trouble with the lessees, and his ownership is disputed by the datos. The pearl fishery has figured in a treaty between that sultan and the United States government. See *Affairs of Philippines, Hearing before U. S. Senate Committee* (Washington, 1902), part i, p. 18; *Official Handbook of Philippines* (Manila, 1903), p. 153; and *Census of Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1905), pp. 534-536. An early interesting account of pearl-fishing is given by Eden (Arber's edition), pp. 213, 214.

[444] MS. 5,650 reads: "fifty."

[445] Cáuit is a point and bay on the west coast of Zamboanga, Mindanao; Subanin refers to a portion of Zamboanga; and the island of Monoripa is perhaps the island of Saccol, located at the southeastern end of the Zamboanga province. "Subanim" says Dr. Barrows (*Census of the Philippines*, i, p. 416) "suggests a settlement of the present aborigines of that part of Mindanao, who are known as Subanon. Here, too, they saw the notorious 'sea-gypsies,' the Bajau or Sámal Laut, whose wandering boats, then as now, shifted their stations with the changing of the Monsoon."

[446] Crawfurd (*Dictionary*, p. 100) says that the cinnamon of Mindanao is not very strong or valuable; but the *Official Handbook of Philippines* (Manila, 1903) says (p. 114) that a cinnamon of stronger taste and fragrance is found in Zamboanga, Caraga, and the mountain districts of Misamis, than that of Ceylon, although containing a bitter element that depreciates its value, but which can be eliminated by cultivation. Many of the old writers describe the plant and its cultivation, one of the earliest being Varthema (Hakluyt Society edition), p. 191. Pigafetta's etymology of the Malay word is correct.

[447] Mosto (p. 90) mistranscribes *biguiday*, and Stanley has (p. 121), *bignaday*. Perhaps it is the *biniray*, a boat resembling a large banca, or the *binitan* (see Pastells's *Colin*, i, p. 25).

[448] MS. 5,650 reads: "seventeen men seemingly as bold and ready as any others whom we had seen in those districts."

[449] Stanley says (p. 122) that this was attributed by a newspaper of 1874 to the Battas of Sumatra. Semper found the custom of eating the heart or liver of their slain enemies among the Manobos in eastern Mindanao (Mosto, p. 91, note 2). Tribes of Malayan origin living in northern Luzón are said to have ceremonial cannibalism (*Official Handbook of Philippines*, p. 158).

[450] MS. 5,650 reads: "twenty."

[451] At this point in the Italian MS. (folio 50a) is found the chart of Ciboco, Biraban Batolach, Sarangani, and Candigar (*q.v.*, p. 238). This chart is shown on folio 65a of MS. 5,650, preceded by the words: "Chart of the four islands of Ciboco, etc."

[452] Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 223) calls these two islands Sibuco and Virano Batolaque, the first of which Mosto (p. 91, note 3) conjectures to be Sibago, and the second (note 4), part of the southern portion of Mindanao. The first conjecture is probably correct if we take Albo's word that the two ships turned to the southeast after passing the island Sibuco; and the fact that the

main west coast east of Zamboanga is remarkably free of islands, lends color to the second.

[453] The islands of Balut and Sarangani, just south of the most southern point of Mindanao.

[454] MS. adds: "who are St. Elmo, St. Nicholas, and St. Clara."

[455] It is just such acts as this bit of lawlessness, together with the unprovoked capture of inoffensive vessels, that show that the discipline of the ships had in great measure disappeared with the loss of Magalhães. Such acts amounted to nothing less than piracy.

[456] These islands are of the Carcaralong or Karkaralong group south of Mindanao. Mosto conjectures Cabaluzao (Cabulazao on the chart) to be the island of Kabalusu, and that of Lipan, to be Lipang. Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* (Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1724), i, between pp. 36 and 37, shows a group of islands at about this location with the names Lirong (Lipan ?), Karkelang, Cabroewang, Noessa (Nuza ?), Karkarotang, and Karotta.

[457] At this point in the Italian MS. occur two charts: 1. On folio 51a, the islands of Cauiao, Cabiao, Cabulazao, Lipan, Cheava, Camanuca, Cheai, Nuza, and Sanghir (*q.v.*, p. 242); in MS. 5,650 shown on folio 65b, preceded by the words: "Chart of the islands of Sanghir, etc." 2. On folio 51b, the islands of Cheama, Carachita, Para, Zangalura, Ciau, Paghinzara, Talaut, Zoar, and Meau (*q.v.*, p. 246); in MS. 5,650, on folio 66b, preceded by the words: "Chart of the islands of Meau, etc."

Sanghir (now Sanguir) is called Sanguin by Albo (Navarrete, iv, p. 223), and by Castanheda (Mosto, p. 92, note 1).

[458] Of these islands (some of them in the Talantse group) Cheama is Kima; Carachita is Karakitang; Para still retains that name, or is called Pala; Zanghalura is Sangalong or Sangaluan; Ciau is Siao or Sian; Paghinzara (so called by Albo, *ut supra*) figures on Valentyn's map (*ut supra*, note 457) as Pangasare, though the same island seems also to be called Tagulanda, so that Guillemard is right in his identification of this island; it is identified with the island of Roang by the British Admiralty map of 1890, while Mosto conjectures that it may be the island of Biaro. See Guillemard's *Magellan*, map, facing p. 226; and Mosto, p. 92, notes 2-7.

[459] MS. 5,650 gives this name as "Babintau." That MS. adds: "All those islands are inhabited by heathens," and continuing, reads: "There is an island called Talant east of Cheama."

[460] Talaut is evidently one of the Tulur islands east of Sanguir. Zoar (called Suar by Albo) and Meau may be the islands of Meyo and Tifore. See Guillemard (*ut supra*), and Mosto, p. 92, notes 8-10. The geography of the islands of the East India groups has not yet been set forth in a detailed and masterly manner, or definite proportions given to it, although it is a subject that merits enthusiastic research and labor.

[461] Eden reads (p. 259): "the fyxte daye of Nouember and the. xxvii. monethe after theyr departure owt of Spayne."

[462] MS. 5,650 adds: "by which they were deceived."

Albo's narrative (Navarrete, iv, pp. 222-224) of the events of the two ships from the time they leave Borneo to the arrival at the Moluccas is as follows: "We left Borney, and returned by the road whence we had come, and consequently took the channel between the headland of the island of Borney and Poluan. Turning west [*sic*] we went toward the island of Quagayan, and thus we went by that same route in search of the island of Quipit toward the south. On this course between Quipit and Cagayan, we saw to the southward an island called Solo, where many very large pearls are to be found. The king of that island is said to have a pearl as large as an egg. That island lies in a latitude of 6 degrees. While on that course, we came across three small islets and farther on we met an island called Tagima, where many pearls are said to be found. The latter island lies northeast by east and southwest by west with Solo. Tagima lies in a latitude of 6 and five-sixths degrees, and is located opposite the headland of Quipit. Many islets lie between those two islands, and one must take to the open as he approaches Quipit. The above-named headland lies in 7 and one-fourth degrees, and extends southeast and west northwest with Poluan.

"Thence we coasted the island of Quipit going toward the south. Turning east by south we sailed toward certain rocky islets. Along the coast many settlements are passed, where considerable excellent cinnamon grows, and for which we traded. That coast also produces a quantity of ginger. Then we sailed northeast until we saw a gulf, whereupon we turned southeast until we saw a large island. There is a very large settlement extending from that point to the eastern headland of the island of Quipit, and at the headland of the said island. Considerable gold is obtained there from a very large river. That headland lies 91 and one-half degrees from the meridian.

"We left Quipit for Maluco and turned southeast, where we saw an island called Sibuco. Then we turned south southeast, where we saw another island called Viramo Batolaque, continuing along that same course to the head of that island. Then we saw another island called Candicar, and sailed eastward between

the two islands until we reached a point some distance ahead, and at that place we entered a channel between Candicar and another island called Sarangani. We anchored at the latter island and took a pilot for Maluco. Those two islands lie in 4 and two-thirds degrees, while the headland of Quipit lies in 7 and one-fourth degrees, the headland of Sibuco in 6 degrees south latitude, and the headland of Virano Batolaque in 5 degrees. From the headland of Quipit and Candicar, the course is north northwest and south southeast without meeting any headland.

"We left Sarangani and sailed south by east until we reached the right side of an island called Sanguin. Between the two islands lie a number of islets lying toward the west. Sanguin lies in 3 and two-thirds degrees.

"From Sanguin we sailed south by east to an island called Sian. Between those islands lie many rocky islets. The latter island lies in exactly 3 degrees.

"We sailed south by west to an island called Paginsara, which lies in 10 and one-sixth degrees. The course from that island to Sarangani is north by east and south by west and all those islands are sighted.

"From Paginsara we sailed south by east until we reached a position midway between two islets which lie northeast and southwest from one another. The one to the northeast is called Suar and the other Mean. The first lies in 1 degree 45 minutes and the other in 1 and one-half degrees.

"We sailed south southeast from Mean, until we sighted the islands of the Malucos. Then we turned east and entered a channel between Mare and Tidori, where we anchored. We were received there with the utmost friendliness and established a firm peace. We built a house ashore in order to trade with those people, and abode there many days until the ships were laden."

The "Roteiro" (Stanley, pp. 20-23) says that after leaving Borneo, a small junk laden with cocoanuts was overhauled and captured, and that shortly after the ships were careened for repairs in the port of St. Mary of August (see *ante*, note 435). Steering southwest on again setting sail, they come to the island of Fagajam (Cagayan) and that of Seloque (Solo or Joló), where they learn that pearls are abundant. Next they reach Quipe (Quipit), running between it and the island of Tamgym (Tagima). "And always running along the coast of the said island, and going thus, they fell in with a parao laden with sago in loaves, which is bread made of a tree which is named cajare, which the people of that country eat as bread. This parao carried twenty-one men, and the chief of them had been in Maluco in the house of Francisco Serram, and having gone further along this island they arrived in sight of some islands

which are named Semrryn." A guide to Maluco is bargained for, but after arrangements are concluded he attempts to play false, whereupon he and some others are captured. The natives attempt pursuit but are unable to overtake the two ships. Next day sighting an island, and a calm coming upon them, while the currents drew the vessels in toward shore, the old pilot escapes. Continuing they sight "three high mountains belonging to a nation of people whom they call the Salabos [Celebes ?]," and shortly after desiring to take water at a small island, they are deterred by one of their native pilots, who assures them that the people are hostile. "While still in this neighborhood, they saw the islands themselves of Maluco, and for rejoicing they fired all the artillery, and they arrived at the island on the 8th of November of 1521, so that they spent from Seville to Maluco two years, two months and twenty-eight days, for they sailed on the 10th of August of 1519."

The anonymous Portuguese (Stanley, p. 31) places the distance from the Ladrones to the Moluccas at 1,000 miles, the archipelago of St. Lazarus "where there occur many islands" intervening.

At this point in the Italian MS. are found two charts, as follows: 1. On folio 52b, a chart of the islands of Hiri, Tarenate, Mastara, and Giailonlo (*q.v.*, p. 250), with the inscription "All the islands shown in this book are in the other hemisphere, at the antipodes;" probably the same chart appears on folio 73b of MS. 5,650 preceded by the words (in a different hand than most of that MS.): "Here follow the cloves." 2. On folio 53a, a chart entitled "Maluco," showing the islands Tadore, Mare, Pulongha, Mutir, and Machiam (*q.v.*, VOL. XXXIV, p. 72), with a tree bearing the inscription "*Caui gomode*, that is, cloves;" shown on folio 74a of MS. 5,650, preceded by the words: "Description of the clove trees; how they grow; season for gathering; method of finding the best; and also of nutmegs."

[463] Eden (p. 259) says that they entered port "before the ryſinge of the ſoone."

[464] MS. 5,650 adds: "by astrology."

[465] This sentence is omitted in MS. 5,650.

[466] MS. 5,650 omits the drinking-cups.

[467] From this point this sentence reads as follows in MS. 5,650: "To some others we gave either silk cloth or some knives, or caps."

[468] This sentence is omitted in MS. 5,650.

[469] MS. 5,650 reads: "a royal presence and eloquence."

[470] "Mauzor" in Eden (p. 259).

[471] MS. 5,650 does not mention the "quintalada." The quintalada was a per cent of the freight or of the lading space of the ship allowed the officers and crew of sailing vessels. The amount allowed to each of the officers and crews of Magalhães's fleet was specified in section 74 of the instructions given by Cárlos I to Magalhães and Falero at Barcelona, May 8, 1519. The amounts (see Navarrete, iv, pp. 150-152) are as follows:

Following are declared the quintaladas which shall be laden in the ships about to sail to the spice regions, and the amount which each one shall lade, from which he will pay the twenty-fourth part to his Highness.

Quintaladas

First, Fernando de Magallanes and Falero, captains-general of the said fleet will be allowed sixty quintals of cabin space [cámara] apiece 60

Item: of quintalada, and twenty quintals apiece, these twenty to be stowed below decks, and the cabin space above decks 20

The other three captains shall each be allowed forty quintals of cabin space, ten of them quintalada 40

Treasurer, twenty quintals of cabin space, and one quintalada below decks 22

Accountant, a like amount of twenty-two quintals . . . 22

Notaries of the ships, fifteen [*sic*] quintals of cabin space and one quintalada 22

Alguacil of the fleet, six quintals and one quintalada . . 8

The sailors of the ships, one and one-half quintalada . . 3

Chaplains, four quintals apiece 4

Physician and surgeon, five quintals apiece 5

Masters and pilots, twelve quintaladas of cabin space and one quintalada apiece 14

Boatswains, eight quintals of cabin space and one quintalada apiece 10

Sailors, one quintalada apiece 2

Common seamen, one and one-half quintals apiece . . . 1½

Boys, three arrobas of quintalada apiece . . . . 3 arrobas

Gunners

The master gunners, three quintals of cabin space apiece and one quintalada 5

The other gunners, one and one-half quintaladas apiece . 2½

Carpenters, one and one-half quintaladas 2½

Calkers, the same 2½

Coopers, the same 2½

Crossbowmen, the same 2½
Servants of the captains, one quintalada apiece 1
Stewards, three quintals apiece 3
Stonecutters, three quintals apiece 3

In case that our service is performed by building a fortress there, the persons abovementioned who shall remain in it, shall be allowed the said quintaladas in the ships that shall come [to these kingdoms], and they shall receive also a like sum annually from the quintaladas that shall remain there.

If a fortress be made, our captain shall appoint such persons with the duties and functions that shall be necessary in the said fortress, and shall appoint them the competent recompense until we appoint to those duties.

Chests

The captains-general shall take four chests, on which they will pay only the twentieth 4
The other captains shall take three chests apiece on the same terms 3
Accountant and treasurer two chests apiece 2
The notaries of the ships one chest apiece 1
Masters and pilots, each one chest 1
Boatswains, one chest apiece 1
Alguacil of the fleet, one chest 1
Chaplains, one chest apiece 1
The merinos of the fleets, one chest apiece 1
The captains' servants, one chest for each two 1
Physician and surgeon, one chest 1
Sailors, one chest for each two 1
Common seamen, one chest for each two 1
Boys, one chest for each three 1
Master gunners of the ships, each one chest 1
The other gunners, one chest for each two 1
Carpenters, calkers, coopers, masons, crossbowmen, and sailors, one chest for each two 1
Stewards, one chest apiece 1
Sobresalientes, one chest apiece 1

[472] Not nephew, as translated by Stanley (p. 126), as is shown later by the context. MS. 5,650 spells his name "Calanoghapi."

[473] The remainder of this sentence is not in MS. 5,650.

[474] In MS. 5,650 this is changed considerably, reading: "And because he did not have enough merchandise to furnish our ships, he told us that he would go to an island called Bacchian," etc.

[475] Leonardo de Argensola (VOL. XVI, p. 221) derives Maluco from the word "Moloc" meaning "the capital." Crawfurd

says that the derivation and meaning of the word is unknown, although said to be that of a people and place in Gilolo. It has been applied as a collective name to all the islands of their district, but it is correct of only the five mentioned by Pigafetta (for whose ancient names, see VOL. XVI, p. 221). Varthema (*Travels*, Hakluyt Society edition, pp. 245, 246), gives a slight account of the district under the name of the "island of Monoch, where the cloves grow," which Magalhães showed to Cárlos I (Guillemard's *Magellan*, p. 102). Barbosa gives the first authentic account of the five Moluccas (which he names) in his *East African and Malabar Coasts* (Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 201, 202, 219, 220. See also Crawfurd's *Dictionary*, pp. 283-285.

[476] Francisco Serrão, brother of João Serrão, was Magalhães's most intimate friend, and they had been close companions in the stirring years of early Portuguese operations in far eastern waters. In 1509, Serrão sailed on the fleet sent by Almeida to reconnoiter Malacca. Having been sent ashore with a large force, he was attacked by the Malays and only the prompt assistance headed by Magalhães saved him. In January, 1510, while returning from the expedition, he suffered shipwreck. In 1511 he was sent as captain of one of three ships under Antonio d' Abreu to the Moluccas for purposes of exploration and trade, but the expedition failed to reach the islands, going only as far as the islands of Banda. On this expedition, Serrão's ship was abandoned as unseaworthy, and the junk bought in its stead was wrecked on an island. Here pirates landing, Serrão and his men took possession of their boats and thus reached Amboina in safety. The opportunity offering, Serrão went to Ternate, where he espoused the cause of that king against the king of Tidore, by the latter of whom he was finally poisoned about the time of Magalhães's death. A number of letters passed between Magalhães and Serrão, during the years spent by the latter in Ternate, and Magalhães made use of them to persuade Cárlos I to undertake the expedition. See Guillemard's *Magellan*.

[477] See Navarrete, iv, and Guillemard's *Magellan* for details regarding Magalhães's negotiations with Manoel of Portugal and his subsequent denaturalization. The testoon (tostão, tostões) is a Portuguese silver coin. It was first struck in the fifteenth century (Hazlitt's *Coinage of European Continent*).

[478] It is impossible to be sure of the correct form of these names. MS. 5,650 gives them as follows: "Checchily Momoly, Tadore Vimghi, Checchily de Roix, Cili Manzur, Cilli Paggi, Chialin, Checchilin Catara, Vaiechuserich, and Colano Ghappi." Amoretti (followed by Stanley) makes these names "Chechili-Momuli, Jadore Vunghi, Chechilideroix, Cilimanzur, Cilipagi,

Chialinchechilin, Cataravajecu, Serich, and Calanopagi." Mosto gives the names as in the present edition with the exception of the sixth and seventh which he gives as "Chialin Chechilin" and "Cathara." *Checheli* (*Chechelin*) and possibly *Cili*, denotes the title *Cachil* ("noble").

[479] Called by Barros "João de Lourosa, a man disloyal to his country (Mosto, p. 94, note 5). The "Roteiro" (Stanley, pp. 23, 24), says that this man was found in the island of Targatell (Ternate) and that letters were sent him, asking him "to come and speak with them, to which he replied that he did not dare, because the king of the country forbade it." However, permission is secured from the king and Lorosa comes to the ships. An extract from a letter from the Indies (VOL. I, p. 299) says that Lorosa was taken prisoner. Brito (Navarrete, iv, p. 305) merely mentions the fact that he had left with the Spaniards. He remained with the "Trinidad," and was promptly executed by the Portuguese when he fell into their hands (see Guillemard's *Magellan*, p. 303).

[480] MS. 5,650 adds: "hearing that."

[481] In Eden: "ſixe hundreth and fiftie." The native name of Gilolo is Bato-tsima (also called Almahera), and the island belongs to the Netherlands, being included in the residency of Ternate. The population, estimated at 120,000, consists of Malays and Alfuros (pagans; a word apparently formed from the Arabic article *al* and *fora*, "without," and applied by the Portuguese to natives outside of their authority) the latter probably representing the pre-Malayan populations, and inhabiting the central portion of the island.

[482] Eden (p. 227), translating from Oviedo, mentions canes "as bygge as a mans legge in the knee and three ſpannes in length frome ioynt to ioynt or more. . . . Theyr canes are full of moſte cleare water without any maner of taſt or ſauore eyther of the canes or of any other thynge: And ſuche as yf it were taken owte of the freſſheſte ſprynge in the worlde." Pigafetta probably refers to some species of bamboo.

[483] MS. 5,650 reads: "for ten aunes of cloth [dyed with] munjeet." Guzerati or Guzerat (Gujerat, Gugerat, Goojerat, Gujrat) one of the old provinces of India, of which the Kattywar peninsula forms the western part, was a dependency of the Affghân or Ghôri empire of Hindostan until the end of the fourteenth century. It became an independent kingdom in 1408. See Badger's introduction to Varthema's *Travels* (Hakluyt Society edition), p. lviii. Foster's *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* (Hakluyt Society publications, London, 1899), says of Guzerat (pp. 539, 540): "Guzratt. A goodly Kingdom enclosing the bay of

Cambaya. The Cheefe Citty is Amadavaz [Ahmadábád]. It Conteynes the Citty and Gouerment of Cambaya, the bewty of India, the Territorie and Citty of Surat, and Barooch [Broach]. It is watered with many goodly Riuers, as that of Cambaya [the Máhi], falsely supposed to be Indus, the Riuer of Narbadah, falling into the Sea at Barooch, that of Suratt, and diuers others. It trades to the Red Sea, to Achyn, and many places." Its ports were important centers of trade.

[484] This item is missing in MS. 5,650, and in Eden.

[485] Cf. with the prices of various oriental products in Barbosa's *East African and Malabar Coasts* (Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 221-223.

[486] Probably it was because of this belief that the ships intended to take in water near Celebes, "because they feared that in Maluco they would not be allowed to take it in" (see the "Roteiro," Stanley, p. 22).

[487] MS. 5,650 omits the remainder of this paragraph.

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